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# THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND OLBORN REVIEW

•EDITOR• B. AQUILA BARBER•

JANUARY, 1935

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# *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE  
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THE EDITOR

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# THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

JANUARY, 1935

## THE ROMANCE OF THE RECOVERY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS<sup>1</sup>

THE public imagination has been deeply stirred of late by the national purchase of one of the oldest existing manuscripts of the Greek Bible. None of us will soon forget the excitement roused by the announcement that the Sinaitic Codex had found its secure resting-place in the British Museum. Less sensational announcements which have been made in the columns of the *Times* several times in the last year or two, are none the less of profound importance to all who are interested in the history of the sacred text. At the same time several recent obituaries have recalled to memory the services of scholars whose startling discoveries of unknown or long-forgotten treasures of Christian antiquity deserve to be retold to a generation that has never heard the story.

A letter over the signature of Sir Frederick Kenyon told of the Chester Beatty Papyri, containing the oldest considerable fragments of the Greek Old and New Testaments, and of some apocryphal books, carrying our knowledge of the history of the text a century or two further back into the misty past. A letter from Professor Kirsopp Lake, last May, announced that a small piece of a parchment roll found near the Euphrates contains part of the Greek *Diatessaron* of Tatian. Though this be but a fragment, yet its alleged date A.D. 235 takes us within some half-century of Tatian's lifetime.

The death of Dean Armitage Robinson recalled his share in the romance of the discovery of the lost *Apology* of Aristides, and his last gift to the world of scholarship is a revised estimate

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at the annual Commemoration Service at Handsworth College, Birmingham, October 5, 1934.

of the *Didache*, that strange relic of early Christian literature which caused such a fluttering in ecclesiastical dovecotes when it was brought to light just half a century ago. The announcement this summer of the death of Professor A. S. Hunt awoke in some of us a memory of that wonderful day in 1897 when he and his lamented colleague, Professor Bernard Grenfell, announced to the world the startling discovery in the sands of Egypt of a collection of sayings of Jesus.

It may not, therefore, seem out of place this year, if I say something about the Romance of the Recovery of Early Christian Writings. The title of the address is designedly comprehensive. We are concerned both with discoveries that throw light on the original form of the text of the New Testament writings, and also with the recovery of any ancient document that reveals to us the life and thought of Christianity in the first century that followed the apostolic age. It is not bibliolatry that gives to some of us so keen an interest in the textual history of the New Testament. It is rather a clear recognition that this is one branch of Church History, the study of the influences that played their part in shaping the thought and faith of the men who carried on the living tradition of the Church from the death of the last of the Apostles until the State recognition of Christianity in the Empire under Constantine. It is certain that the Christian faith has nothing to gain and nothing to lose from any archaeological discovery that can ever be made. But is it mere idle curiosity to speculate how our knowledge of Christian origins would be enriched if some unknown factors in the historical problem were supplied? How glad we should be to know something about the travels of St. Peter between his departure from Jerusalem and his death at Rome (if he did actually die there!), or whether St. Thomas ever visited India, or whether St. Matthias justified his election to the vacancy in the apostolate. What would we not give for definite information about the result of St. Paul's appeal to

Caesar and his further travels, if indeed he was released? What excitement would attend the discovery of a letter from the Apostle to the Church at Athens, or of a private letter in which St. Peter gave his version of the unfortunate affair at Antioch! What consternation there would be in some quarters and what exultation in others, if a document of unimpeachable antiquity and authenticity came to light to settle once for all the date of the death of St. John, and the question of his Ephesian residence!

It is hardly likely that any of these extravagant desires will ever be gratified. The marvel is that any apostolic writings, written on perishable papyrus, have survived for future ages. But it is highly improbable that any writings of early date, of which no mention is made by the Christian writers of the second and following centuries, will ever be discovered. The only conditions under which papyrus documents have been preserved are excessive dryness of soil, or complete protection from atmospheric moisture. Those conditions were supplied by the sands of Egypt and the hermetically sealed ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii when overwhelmed by the lava and ashes of Vesuvius. That appalling disaster took place too early for the preservation of any Christian documents. Moreover, Egypt only became an important centre of Christian life late in the second century. How different our fortune might be if Antioch or Caesarea had the same climate and soil as Egypt!

We must therefore be content with little gains of a different kind, only recognizing that the historian works with an immense quantity of small fragments which he is able to fit into their true place in the large pattern.

Let us first consider some of the gains that come from our recovery of the text of the New Testament. Every one knows that a vast number of ancient manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, and of early versions into other languages, came to light between the time when the Authorised Version of the English Bible was made in 1611 and the publication

of the Revised Version in 1881. Indeed, it is probable that the demand for a revision was largely due to the widespread interest roused by Tischendorf's gift to the world of the text of the famous codex which had lain in obscurity for so many centuries in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. What are the most interesting and important discoveries of New Testament manuscripts that have been made in the last half century?

First must come the discovery in that same monastery of the Syriac Palimpsest of the Gospels. It was in 1892 and the following year that the twin sisters, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, remarkable alike for their learning and for their intrepidity, made two journeys across the desert to Mt. Sinai and discovered and photographed a very early form of the Syriac translation of the Four Gospels, almost effaced and completely covered with some eighth-century writing containing lives of female saints. This completely confirmed certain fragmentary evidence which had come to light earlier in the nineteenth century, and proved that the Syriac translation of the New Testament which has been in general use since early in the fifth century is a late revision, and does not represent the kind of text which was current when the New Testament was first translated from Greek into Syriac.

The next find of great importance was the purchase of the Washington manuscript of the Gospels by Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, Michigan, in 1906. He bought this and some other manuscripts from an Arab dealer near Cairo, who seems to have been rather a rascal. It appears to have been written in the fifth century, about a century after the two famous codices known as the Sinaitic and the Vatican. From some words written on one of the leaves it has been inferred that at one time it was in the Church of Timothy, in the Monastery of the Vinedresser, near the third pyramid. There is considerable mystery about its discovery, but apparently we have good reason for thinking that when the Monastery of the Vinedresser was ruined the monks

took it with them to a place of refuge. There later on it was buried and found by some diggers early in this century and sold at Gizeh. There is one very interesting feature about this manuscript. Every student of the Revised Version knows that the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel are not part of the original Gospel, but were added by a later hand to round the story off when the last page of the precious papyrus roll had been torn off and lost beyond recovery. Many of our best authorities show that these verses are a later addition. Now the Washington Codex not only contains them, but also inserts in the middle a passage which is not found in any other manuscript of the New Testament. The words, however, are known to us because they are quoted in a Latin version by St. Jerome in one of his books. They are printed in Dr. Moffatt's *New Translation of the New Testament* in square brackets in the first of the two endings to St. Mark which he gives as alternatives from ancient manuscripts.

It was somewhere about the same time as the purchase of the Washington Codex that scholars began to hear about a strange manuscript written in the eighth century which had been found in a remote valley in the Caucasus, where it had been regarded as a kind of village fetish. For thirty years it had completely vanished but it turned up again and found a home at Tiflis, where it has been transcribed. It is known as the Koridethi manuscript from a monastery at the far end of the Black Sea where it is known to have been at a much earlier time. Late as it is in date, it is evidently a copy of a much earlier manuscript, and Drs. Lake and Streeter have found in it the key to one of the most difficult problems regarding the relations of the different types of early text which we possess for the New Testament. Perhaps the most important advance made in the textual criticism of the New Testament since Westcott and Hort brought out their famous edition half-a-century ago is the recognition of the 'Caesarean' type of text in addition to the so-called 'Neutral,' 'Western,' and 'Syrian.' But it is doubtful if this theory would have

been worked out convincingly but for the help afforded by this uncouth-looking parchment with its strange history.

No other great manuscript of the New Testament, or of any large portion of it, has come to light within this period, but a great mass of small fragments has been accumulating all through the last thirty-five years. Those who have been carefully digging in the rubbish-heaps of Egypt have recovered from the sand over a hundred-and-fifty little pieces of papyrus which contain at most a few chapters, and sometimes only a few verses, from the various books of the New Testament. In themselves they are of little value, but they are of great use in telling us what different kinds of text were current in Egypt, in very early centuries. Two of these fragments are of special interest, one, which contains readings closely resembling the text of the great Vatican Codex, is available for part of three chapters in the Epistle to the Hebrews where that famous manuscript is deficient. Another, which contains verses from three chapters in the Acts of the Apostles, is claimed by its editor to come from the first half of the third century. Even if this is too early a date, it is certainly much earlier than our oldest famous manuscript of the Greek Testament.

Three years ago the discovery was announced of what has proved to be a treasure of great value. A certain Mr. Chester Beatty bought from some dealers in Egypt a group of papyri which were probably found beneath the ruins of a Christian church or monastery. On examination they have been found to contain portions of papyrus codices, that is, sheets of papyrus formed into quires, not rolls, and so presenting the appearance of a book. Three of them represent parts of the New Testament. One contains in mutilated form thirty leaves from a book that contained the Gospels and Acts, another ten leaves from a book that contained the Pauline Epistles, and another ten leaves from a book that contained the Revelation of John. They all date from the third century, and the first of them probably from the first half of the century.

Eight more contain parts of the Old Testament, and one has part of the apocryphal book of Enoch in Greek. One of the Old Testament portions is even dated as far back as the early second century.

It need not be said that such a discovery raises high hopes that more Christian manuscripts may turn up of an earlier period than any that we had been led to think probable. But even in this collection of precious fragments one remarkable fact has been established of great interest to the general Bible reader. It used to be said that under the conditions of writing before vellum came into use in the fourth century for the Christian scriptures, no papyrus roll could contain more than one book of the length of St. Luke's Gospel or the Acts of the Apostles. In other words, until about A.D. 325 the Four Gospels could never be read together in one book. There is now evidence to show that the Christian community used the codex form for their writings as early as the first part of the third century, and probably early in the second century. There is therefore no reason for supposing that all Four Gospels and the Acts were not bound up together in one book within a century of the writing of the earliest of the Gospels.

This brings us on by an easy transition to the second part of our subject. What has come to light within the last half-century of all the lost books of early Christian writers? Let us begin with the latest announcement in the *Times*, that which appeared on May 16 last. It reports the discovery of a small fragment of a book, written in Greek, which has been the subject of long, and at one time even fierce controversy. Sixty years ago no small stir was caused by an anonymous book bearing the title *Supernatural Religion*. Its scholarship was pretentious rather than profound, but it set forth some of the arguments of the rationalism of that day against the validity of the Gospels as historical documents. Now one of the claims of Christian scholars had always been that the Four Gospels were widely accepted by the middle of

the second century, and in support of this assertion they cited the witness of many Christian writers of early date that a certain Tatian made a harmony of the Four Gospels to which he gave the Greek name *Diatessaron* (i.e. 'by means of four'). This Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, who was converted to Christianity by reading the scriptures. While at Rome he became in some sense a disciple of Justin Martyr. Later on he went to the East, and adopted one of the heresies that abounded in that age. The author of *Supernatural Religion* denied that Tatian's *Diatessaron* had ever existed. Bishop Lightfoot, in his trenchant criticism of that book, brought forward cogent arguments in support of the traditional belief about Tatian's Harmony of the Four Gospels. But the *Diatessaron* he could not produce. When, however, during his last illness, Bishop Lightfoot was preparing his *Essays on Supernatural Religion* for republication in book form, he added a footnote to the last chapter. It seems that the actual *Diatessaron* of Tatian had since been discovered, though not in the Greek. The Syrian father Ephraem, who died in A.D. 373, had written a commentary upon this work in Syriac. An Armenian translation of that commentary, together with other works of Ephraem, had been published in Venice as far back as 1836. Lightfoot writes: 'I had for some years possessed a copy of this work in four volumes, and the thought had more than once crossed my mind that possibly it might throw light on Ephraem's mode of dealing with the Gospels, as I knew that it contained notes on St. Paul's Epistles or some portion of them. I did not, however, then possess sufficient knowledge of Armenian to sift its contents but I hoped to investigate the matter when I had mastered enough of the language.' Meanwhile a Latin translation of this Armenian work was issued, then an Arabic translation of the *Diatessaron* itself was discovered and published in Rome. Thus the ancient tradition about Tatian's work was proved to the hilt. Since Lightfoot's death forty-five years ago the *Diatessaron* has turned up in Latin, in which,

unfortunately, the text has been assimilated to the Latin Vulgate, and this in turn has left its mark on some mediaeval Dutch Harmonies of the Gospels. Was it possible that a copy still survived anywhere in the world of the supposed Greek original? It was because of rumours that such a Greek *Diatessaron* had been seen that that venerable scholar, Dr. Rendel Harris, set forth some twelve years ago on his last journey to the East and visited once more the monastery on Mount Sinai. But he returned without finding the treasure. It can now be seen why Professor Lake's announcement last May stirs so much interest. The fragment is a small piece of a parchment roll, discovered in the ruins of Doura 'in a position which precludes the possibility of its being later than the year A.D. 255, and makes a date of approximately 235 extremely probable.' The day after this letter appeared Professor Burkitt wrote to the *Times*. At the close of his letter he said: 'The Greek *Diatessaron* had hitherto seemed to be a conjecture, and until the text of the new fragment is in our hands we cannot altogether reject the possibility that it is a re-translation from Syriac. Even in that case the discovery is of the greatest interest and may throw some light on the genesis of the *Diatessaron* itself. The main question about the *Diatessaron* is whether we should regard it as the last attempt to make a new Gospel, or as the first attempt to translate the Canonical Four.'

The year 1883 saw the publication of the *Didache*, or Teaching of the Apostles, by the Greek bishop, Bryennius, who had discovered it some few years earlier. Ever since then this strange work has been the battle-ground between those who regard it as an extremely early manual of Christian teaching and practice, those who regard it as a Jewish manual of instruction adapted for Christian purposes, and those who place it at a later period altogether. It has been dated as early as A.D. 60 and as late as A.D. 160. Part of it so closely resembles the last chapters of the Epistle of Barnabas that there can be no reasonable doubt that one has borrowed

from the other. Those who have read Constantine Tischendorf's account of his discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus will remember that thrilling description of the night which followed his first sight of the precious volume. To his amazement he saw that it contained in the original Greek the early Christian writing known as the Epistle of Barnabas, of which at that time only a poor Latin version was known to exist. That night he sat in his cell without thought of sleep as he copied the Epistle from beginning to end. Now what is the relation between this work conventionally attributed to Barnabas and the *Didache*? For many years Dean Armitage Robinson devoted the closest study to this question and his views were given in his Donnellan Lectures fourteen years ago. Since his recent death a revision of some of those lectures, made in his last months, has been published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, and it is worth while to notice his final judgement. By a minute study of the parallel passages Dean Robinson has demonstrated that the author of the *Didache* was the borrower. He has also made out what seems to me to be a convincing case for the theory that, starting with the last verses of St. Matthew's Gospel as the text of his discourse, the Didachist sought to give 'The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles.' This he did by attempting to present a picture of the way in which the Gentile Churches were ordered by their apostolic founders. But he did not draw a picture of any actual Church of his own time; he was trying rather 'to represent the moral instruction and the ecclesiastical ordinances which the Apostles might reasonably be supposed to have sanctioned for their Gentile converts.' In making this attempt he confined himself as far as possible 'to such precepts and regulations as could be authenticated directly or indirectly by writings of the Apostolic age.' It is instructive to see how largely he draws upon the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas.

In 1891 another sensational discovery was made, in which

Dean Armitage Robinson plays a secondary role, and the chief glory belongs to Dr. Rendel Harris. Eusebius, whose *Ecclesiastical History* was written in the early part of the fourth century, is our great repository for information about early Christian writings, and he tells us that amongst the earliest of the defences on behalf of the Christians presented to the Roman Emperors was one made by an Athenian philosopher, named Aristides, to the Emperor Hadrian. The *Apology* of Aristides, however, had completely vanished from sight. In the later part of the nineteenth century an Armenian translation of what was believed to be the opening chapters of this lost *Apology* was discovered and published by the Armenian monks of the Lazarist monastery at Venice. Then Dr. Rendel Harris, during a visit to the monastery at Mt. Sinai, came upon the *Apology* in a Syriac translation. He prepared an English translation with notes upon the Syriac text, together with an introduction. Dr. Armitage Robinson, as editor of the Cambridge Texts and Studies in which series this translation was to appear, had read the proof sheets before going to the continent to carry on research in some of the great European libraries. While looking in vain for a lost manuscript in the library at Vienna he chanced to be reading a Latin translation of the *Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*. We may imagine his astonishment when he suddenly found himself reading words which were an unmistakable echo of the translation from the Syriac *Apology* of Aristides which he had been reading only a short time before. He immediately turned up the Greek of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and there he found what must surely be the actual words of the original *Apology*. On returning to Cambridge Dr. Robinson compared the text which Dr. Harris had copied in the Syriac at Mt. Sinai with the famous speech in *Barlaam and Josaphat*, and the substantial identity was proved beyond doubt.

But, it may be asked, how could so serious a theological treatise find its way into the most popular romance of the

middle ages? Those who are acquainted with the recent application of source-criticism to that beautiful novel *John Inglesant* will not find the question so hard to answer. But as it is possible that some present have not read the story of Barlaam and Josaphat I may be allowed to say a few words by way of explanation. It is an old romance, written probably in the fifth or sixth century, in which the Indian legend of the Buddha is worked up, and a number of Eastern stories are introduced into a narrative with a Christian setting and moral. Before the thirteenth century it had been translated into almost every known language in the world, including Icelandic. The narrative is as follows. An Eastern king persecuted the Christians and expelled the monks from India. When he was advanced in years and childless, a young prince, Josaphat, was born. The astrologers predicted that this prince would achieve greatness, but would become a Christian. To prevent this the king screened him all through boyhood and youth from any contact with sorrow, disease and death, and above all from Christianity. At long last the prince induced his father to give him freedom, but as he drove from the palace every effort was made to prepare the course so that his eyes might rest upon no evil thing. One day, however, he saw a lame man, and a blind man, and another day a wrinkled and tottering old man. When he learnt that accidents may befall any man and that old age and death await us all, his soul was clouded with sorrow. Hearing of this, a Christian monk, Barlaam by name, came to him in the guise of a merchant to show him a goodly pearl. With many an oriental apologue, interwoven with Gospel parables, the stranger convinced Josaphat of the Christian hope of the life to come, and the prince was baptized. The father was frenzied with grief when he heard this, and resorted to a stratagem to unsettle the young convert's faith in Christ. A clever actor, who resembled Barlaam, was to defend the cause of Christianity in open debate. But he was to set forth the Christian case so feebly that the rhetoricians would cover it with ridicule, and

Josaphat would renounce his new allegiance. When the pseudo-Barlaam, Nachor, appeared on the appointed day, Josaphat warned him of a terrible doom if he failed to win his cause. This threat must have upset the resolution of the schemer, and like Balaam, he who came to curse, or at least to damn by faint argument, pleaded with such eloquence and force that Nachor himself was convinced by his own pleading, and the king was converted, as finally were all the people. Then in due course Josaphat succeeded to his father's throne, but later on resigned his kingdom and retired with Barlaam to a life of contemplation in the desert. Such is the story. How did the novelist succeed in providing Nachor with a speech that might be expected to produce so astonishing a result? By plagiarism of the most unblushing sort. He stole the *Apology* of Aristides and put it almost verbatim into Nachor's mouth. Perhaps there are times when the end justifies the means! At any rate very many Christians for some centuries took their powder in the jam, and, let us hope, in their Sunday afternoon enjoyment of the religious novel read through, without skipping, the noble argument first addressed in the second century by the Apologist Aristides to the Emperor Hadrian. We owe it to the ingenious novelist that the original Greek of the famous *Apology* has survived to the present day.

The eighteen-nineties were a wonderful period in which to live! The very year after the recovery of the lost *Apology* of Aristides, fragments of three early documents were published, containing portions of the Book of Enoch, of the Gospel of Peter, and of the *Apocalypse* of Peter. The Book of Enoch is a pre-Christian work which is quoted in the Epistle of Jude. Until that time it was only known in an Ethiopic version and in an old Slavonic version. Now the first thirty chapters of the Greek text were brought to light. I shall say nothing more about this find than to add that one of the Chester Beatty papyri to which reference has already been made has recently supplied us with the Greek

text of chapters 97-107 of the Book of Enoch. Far more important are the other two books. They were known from allusions in Eusebius, who seems to have read himself or to have read about all the books of Christian antiquity. But even the Apocalypse of Peter must not detain us now. It is of interest as being with one exception the earliest of all the Christian apocalypses. Nearly half of it is preserved in this fragment. The eighth-century scribe, who faithfully copied the fragments which alone were before him into this precious parchment book, had evidently only the last part of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter. The story begins in the midst of the trial scene in the narrative of the Passion, and breaks off abruptly as Peter and Andrew, after the crucifixion, go to the Sea of Galilee with their nets. Fragmentary though this Gospel be, it is of immense significance to the student of the Gospels and their use in the second century. For here we have a work that depends upon the four canonical Gospels, and apparently upon them alone; but it treats them with an unmistakable doctrinal tendency. Passages from all Four Gospels are taken, but mishandled in the interests of a peculiar heresy. That heresy taught that 'the Divine Christ came down upon the Human Christ at the Baptism in the form of a Dove, and departed from the Human Christ upon the Cross.' In the account of the crucifixion the well-known passage in Mark is transposed into another key than that of the realism of the New Testament. 'And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said it he was taken up. And in that hour the veil of the temple was rent in twain.' Part of the value of this discovery lies in the contrast which it presents to our Four Gospels. No one would say that they are written from the detached standpoint of an outsider. They were written from faith unto faith. But we can agree with Dr. Armitage Robinson's words, written at the close of a lecture delivered within a week of the publication of this new Gospel. 'No one will fail to return to the Four Gospels with a sense of relief at his

escape from a stifling poison of prejudice into the transparent and the bracing atmosphere of pure simplicity and undesigning candour.'

But the greatest excitement of all was caused by the publication in the summer of 1897 of a scrap of papyrus containing some sayings of Jesus. It is a leaf from a papyrus book written in the third century, and was found in the ruins of Oxyrhynchus on the edge of the Libyan desert, 120 miles south of Cairo. Of the seven sayings rescued from this book of which the greater part has perished, several closely correspond to words familiar to us from our canonical Gospels. One of them gave rise to a small library of exposition and inspired one of the best known of the poems of Francis Thompson. 'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I.'

Seven years later, in 1904, Drs. Grenfell and Hunt again startled us with the news of another fragment of Sayings of Jesus, which also they placed in the third century. Once more we find echoes of familiar words of our Lord. But in this collection there is one saying which was already known in part, because Clement of Alexandria quoted it as written in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. 'Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest.' Some of you will remember how a famous journalist of the last generation based upon that text a discourse upon 'The Renascence of Wonder in Religion,' which is quoted by Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton in the preface to the later editions of *Aylwin*.

In 1908 a fragment of an uncanonical Gospel came to light, also at Oxyrhynchus, but beyond showing an intimate knowledge of Jewish ceremonies of purification in connexion with the Temple-worship it has little in it to interest us. There is even reason to believe that the local colour is due to the imagination of the author, writing towards the close of the

## 16 RECOVERY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

second century. This fragment illustrates the way in which, when the Four Gospels had attained complete and exclusive authority in the church, a supply arose to meet the demand for something fresh. Mrs. Phillimore and Mr. John Oxenham had their precursors in the second and third centuries whose works have not endured the test of time.

Now with two observations I must bring this address to a close. No fragment of any early Christian writing is without value. Every morsel of information that tells anything about the thought and the interests of Christian people in any part of the world finds its place in the general historical understanding of a period from which all too scanty literary remains have come down to us.

But the most startling imaginable discoveries that could possibly come to us from the spade of the excavator would be of historical rather than of religious value. A few years ago I was present at an international conference of theologians at which one of the German scholars asked this question of the members of the Orthodox Church of the East: 'Would you accept into the Canon of Scripture a letter of the Apostle Paul, genuine beyond any possibility of dispute, if it came to light in the future?' 'No,' replied Father Bulgakoff as their spokesman. 'For the Scriptures of the Church are those writings which have been bound up with the living faith and experience of the Church through all the centuries. Any such epistle which now came to light would be of personal and historical interest, but it would have played no part in the life of the Christian community, or in the enrichment of its devotional life.' These words demand consideration.

After all, the life of the company of the faithful has been fed on that which brings sufficient knowledge of the Christ after the flesh to enable us to enter into abiding fellowship with the Christ who is the Lord, the Spirit.

W. F. HOWARD.

## WHAT IS THE USE OF POETRY?

SOME years ago I passed through the village of Hawkshead in a char-a-banc, and my neighbour called attention to the small building that is, or was, the Hawkshead Grammar School. He told me he had been inside it a few days before, and had seen a tablet stating that some poet had been educated there. I opined that the poet might be Wordsworth, and after a pause he replied: 'Yes, now you mention it, I believe that was the name.' This episode reminded me of Browning's acquaintance in 'Memorabilia,' the man who 'once did see Shelley plain,' but saw no cause for excitement in so trivial an occurrence. For Browning himself, we gather, a glimpse of Shelley would have stirred the heart like the finding of an eagle's feather on an uneventful waste of moor. The truth is that even to-day, when several lessons a week in most of our schools are devoted to 'the study of literature,' not many people read poetry, and not all who read see very much in it. Honestly expressed, the usual verdict would be not unlike that of the American business man who passed on Shakespeare's plays the famous encomium: 'I don't believe there are thirty men in Boston itself who could have written them.'

The only poets who matter are the poets who write because they are driven to it by a vital impulse, and the only readers of poetry, in a true sense, are those who feel an urgent need of it. Vital impulse must never be confused with facile industry. Any reviewer of minor verse can testify that thousands of metrical lines are written every month by people who have formed the verse habit, but whose versification has no more spiritual necessity than the habit of dribbling in an infant. Inferior or sham poetry, like every other type of bad art, exists and flourishes on the devastating fact that so many people will persist in persuading themselves that they 'like' it. If three persons are asked to name their favourite shorter poems, and the first and second choose

respectively 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci' and 'The Last Ride Together,' we may legitimately call their difference a difference of taste. But if the third declares that his favourite poem is 'The Lost Chord,' we are nonplussed. Readers who 'like' Adelaide Ann Procter are outside the scope of our inquiry, just because liking, as distinct from loving, is the limit of their experience. To typical likers of such poems as 'The Lost Chord,' it has never occurred that poetry is a matter of profound seriousness. For them, the poet is no more than purveyor of a moment's tepid pleasure, or else (what is far worse) a stirrer up of mildly sentimental agitation which passes, with these ingenuous souls, for what they are fond of calling 'beautiful thoughts.' For would-be poets or poetry-readers the golden rule should be—Love it passionately, or leave it alone. Verse that merely embeds the commonplace agreeables of life in verbal confectionery, and verse that superficially tickles the moral complacency to which our Anglo-Saxon race is notoriously prone, have nothing to do with the intimate and secret passion of the spirit known as poetry.

The lady who asked whether Keats helped to save the soul was flattened out, had she known it, by the reply: 'Keats helps to make the soul worth saving.' To define the use of poetry in set terms is impossible, seeing that the experience it embodies and communicates is something that lies in the region of those absolute values which belong to life itself. Wordsworth's phrase, 'intimations of immortality,' suggests the kind of value that poetry has for its devout lover. But the paradox, and in some sense the magic, of poetry consists in the fact that man must be mortal to apprehend it. This thought is memorably put in Gordon Bottomley's lovely little poem 'Atlantis.' The body of poetry, he says:

Is but a terrene form, a terrene use,  
That swifter being will not loiter with;  
And when mankind is dead and the world cold,  
Poetry's immortality will pass.

Presumably the angels have substitutes for poetry, which they find adequate. We cannot guess what angels think or feel: but in the half-light of this world we can only conceive of poetry as a vision of 'brave translunary things' which thrill us because our own life here is brief and uncertain. The function of the poet is often mistakenly supposed to be that of a seer who offers a definite map or chart of human destiny. The poet supplies truth, not dogma; and this poetic form of truth can only be grasped as it is created, that is to say, by means of imagination and emotion. Truth in the art of poetry is not the same thing as truth in science, or in theology. Poetically, the book of Ecclesiastes ranks high among the books of the Bible. It ranks exceedingly low as a provider of what a quaint Puritan tract once described as 'hooks and eyes for believers' breeches.'

The poet's belief is not that of the convinced exponent of any set creed. Nor must we confound poets with the type of men who are known as 'thinkers.' A poet is an artist. He apprehends life passionately for its own sake. He creates eternity out of a moment of time, and thus he raises art to a plane on which it becomes not identical, but parallel, with religion. Life itself, for a genuine poet, is its own valuer. This is why the masterpieces of tragic art in poetry are so precious to the true poetry-lover. In tragedy, terrible things happen, and good or at any rate well-meaning people come to ends that apparently contradict all purely human notions of justice. But when we reach the awe-inspiring climax, we feel that human dignity has been vindicated. The spectacle of these tragic protagonists, some of whom 'went down scornful before many spears,' has given us a loftier conception of human personality and of life itself. Theological explanations of life are outside the province of the poet; but he is on the side of the theologians, because he convinces us that life has some ultimate worth and meaning, not to be discerned by the short-sighted materialist. The judicious reader of poetry does not say: 'I enjoy Browning because he is an optimist,

but I don't care for Thomas Hardy's poems because they are pessimistic in tone.' To say this is to confess, unconsciously, that you have not even begun to understand how art of any kind should be approached. Confronted by the work of any great artist, intelligent persons put aside, for the time being, their so-called beliefs and convictions. They are in the realm of contemplation, not of argument. They share with the artist his own experience of the emotions that life has brought to him: and even if afterwards they do not agree with any reasoned conclusions about life he has formed, they are profoundly stimulated by contact with his spirit, in the exaltations or agonies which life has stirred in him.

The ancients had a word for one comprehensive virtue which took precedence of all others. Those who possessed it were called in Latin 'magnanimi'—persons of large soul. Only the magnanimous, in this sense, were admitted to the Elysian fields as Virgil pictured them. Some of the people so qualified might be dubious candidates for any paradise determined by the moral technicalities of a Hebrew or Mohammedan or Christian creed. But the broad pagan mind—from which we can still learn a great deal—perceived that man's importance, in the long run, was not so much an affair of obedience to rules, as an actual and recognizable bigness of the soul itself. Great poets are great because they have this bigness, and for the time being, at any rate, they communicate something of their large outlook to readers who acknowledge and submit to their spell.

Real poetry is never out of date, because it deals with those central facts of human nature which are more or less unchangeable. Empires wax and wane; doctrines and philosophies have their day and cease to be; moral codes change with racial or climatic or economic conditions; science is new every morning, and antiquated every evening; but one line of real poetry, written thousands of years ago, is 'for ever warm, and still to be enjoyed.' Homer and Sophocles and Dante and Shakespeare, in their universal as distinct from their

merely topical moments, are still our contemporaries, uttering ageless words that go straight to our hearts. In what true sense, then, can we speak of 'modern' poetry and 'modern' poets? If the substance of great poetry is immortal, how far is it a fact that each age can enjoy a poetry of its own?

I think the answer to these questions is one that holds good of all the arts. In substance and principle all good art, being founded on the essentials of human nature, is eternal. But every age has its own psychology, its own vocabulary, and the poet, like every other genuine artist, creates in a contemporary medium instead of borrowing his forms at second hand from the artists of the past. At the end of the eighteenth century Wordsworth deliberately returned to a new and simple diction in verse, because he felt (rightly) that the poetic diction of his youth had grown tired and artificial. Unless a poet speaks in his own words—which are necessarily the words of his own age—we justly suspect him of carrying on a poetic tradition, instead of reacting to life in the manner of a spontaneous child, as poets should. It is always foolish—though many critics have committed the folly—to demand from one age the qualities of another. Readers who get the best out of poetry approach the poets of every age without bias. They know beforehand that the eighteenth century could not have produced a Shakespeare nor a Shelley, but this does not inhibit them from appreciating the pensive refinement of Gray or the plain sincerity of Cowper.

A century ago, this country enjoyed a galaxy of poetic genius in the persons of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Byron and Shelley and Keats. Nobody expects anything on that scale to-day. The major creative powers of our own time are poured into non-literary channels. All over Europe, the outward forms of civilization are being transfigured wholesale by the collective efforts of modern architects, engineers, and constructive designers. Literature is not the characteristic

art of this age. In preceding ages, until the end of the Tennyson period, there was a more or less homogeneous reading public—a definite, prepared, and educated audience to which the poet might appeal and by whose verdict he was judged. There is nothing of that sort now. It is true that every few years, in what are vulgarly known as highbrow circles, we have novel literary cults, with their own jargon; but the mass of readers is broken up into bewilderingly various sections, with no common aims or standard to unite them. ‘Great’ poets, in the old sense of that word, could only exist when they had a large and united constituency of whose aspirations they were the mouthpiece. At the moment, our vast half-baked reading public—for most of whom the inheritance of reading itself is only fifty years old—is groping its way towards self-expression by studying compendiums of economics, or alleged popular explanations of the physical universe. That this social and intellectual welter will one day be unified, and that great new poets will arise to answer in a broad way its spiritual cravings, I have personally no doubt. But meanwhile, social conditions do not favour the existence of voluminous poets of classic rank. We have to be content with poets who are authentic, though their genius moves (so to speak) within a smallish orbit. If no poet now writing can be compared in importance with such poets as Wordsworth and Browning and Hardy, we have a surprising number of indubitably real poets, who within their limits respond to the sincere demands of that remnant of readers who seek emotional satisfaction through the art of verse.

What qualities distinguish the real, though small-scale, poets of this age? One general gift they share is that of a wider and less timid diction than that of their immediate predecessors. We are going back to the seventeenth-century freedom and variety: the spirit which juxtaposes the serious and the humorous, the sacred and the secular, the agreeable and the ugly, with no hard lines of demarcation. Read Andrew Marvell’s wonderful lines ‘To His Coy Mistress,’ with

their inimitably subtle blend of deep feeling and playful irony, and you recognize the type of poetic art which is now returning to favour in a modern dress. Stevenson declared that the word 'hatter' was impossible for emotional verse: neither a seventeenth-century nor a twentieth-century poet would agree with him. Our poets no longer treat words as though they were candidates for some exclusive club, requiring the most careful social introductions before they can be admitted. Tennyson calls a tea-kettle 'a fluttering urn,' but to-day such a phrase would only appear in definitely comic verse. And this wider freedom of vocabulary, which calls things by their plain names, and passes unhesitatingly from the sublime to the ordinary whenever the rhythm of the poet's thought demands it, is the vehicle of a style which is lyric rather than didactic, preferring images to arguments. The clear musical quality of such poems as Ralph Hodgson's 'Time, You Old Gipsy Man,' or 'The Bull,' is an excellent illustration of the modern poet's principle, that the idea should be dissolved in the image. No need to point the moral, if the magic of words and imagery has already created the atmosphere in which we can feel the moral for ourselves. W. H. Davies is another writer whose best verse achieves, apparently by the most simple means, the unity of image and thought.

Know, all ye sheep  
And cows, that keep  
On staring that I stand so long  
In grass that's wet from heavy rain—  
A rainbow and a cuckoo's song  
May never come together again;  
May never come  
This side the tomb.

Many of our contemporary poets just look at things, and thereby invite us also to look. John Drinkwater's 'Moonlit Apples,' and Edmund Blunden's 'The Barn,' are typical of what I mean. A direct picture is created: and just as the spiritual content of a good painting emerges, with no conscious analysis, from the total impression that the canvas

makes on the mind, so in such poems as these our sense of life's mysterious beauty is enhanced by what to the unthinking would seem no more than a plain scrutiny of something concrete. In one of his later prefaces Thomas Hardy refers to 'Coleridge's proof that a versification of any length neither can be nor ought to be all poetry.' We should not now put the matter quite in that way, but the meaning is clear enough. The modern poet is concerned with the effect of his poem as a whole. To assemble a select body of 'poetic' lines, each one carefully polished and adorned, is not necessarily to create the poem itself. In Masefield's 'Reynard the Fox,' when you read the description of the busy harness-room and the grooming of the horses, you are not reading poetry in the academic sense of that word. But the quick colloquialisms and realism, the zest and gusto and even 'the strong ammonia flavour,' contribute their vitality to the entire picture of life and humanity which it is the poet's aim to give you. This sort of concreteness, recalling the tavern scenes of the Dutch and Flemish 'little masters,' is a powerful ingredient of poetry as we now understand it, and as Shakespeare understood it.

Another element in our poetry is what everybody now calls the psychological. Heaven forbid that poets should turn Freud into rhyme. Some of our intellectuals, who make the profound mistake of supposing that intellectualism is art, have produced verses that can only be described as a clever mixture of psycho-analysis and verbiage. But the whole history of poetry, and of the process by which certain poets have found their way to establishment as classics, reveals the fact that no new 'movement,' however interesting it may be from a social or philosophical or scientific point of view, can ever be dissolved into the substance of poetry until it has shed all its technicalities and has been absorbed into the daily unreflective consciousness of ordinary people. There is nothing in Thomas Hardy's poems that could fairly be called an exposition of nineteenth-century science: yet

no poet has so completely embodied, in terms of pure and simple art, those widespread influences of the evolutionary theory, which cause us (rightly or wrongly) to view man as 'a link in the chain of natural causes.' The genuine poet will never give us the sort of psychology which I once heard described, with happy flippancy, as 'gut-burrowing.' But whatever you call it, there is to-day a general awareness of inner mental experiences, often fugitive and only partially apprehended, which our fathers do not seem to have had. Walter de la Mare's verse is full of hints and intimations that lead us towards these more secluded recesses of emotional being. Endowed with extraordinary verbal gifts and a most delicate insight, he captures the flotsam of feeling and converts it into a gossamer beauty. When we read 'The Listeners,' we do not try to explain to ourselves the whole story: we feel as Lamb did, when he said that Coleridge ought never to have explained the first part of 'Christabel.' The characteristic poems of Mr. de la Mare all deal with the inner side of life, suggested to us by images and contacts of a childlike simplicity. If the function of literary art, as somebody once said, is 'to educate the sentiments,' we may say that such poems as 'The Scribe' or 'Arabia' or 'The Stranger' (which I only mention at random from dozens of similar virtue) have the effect of *intensifying* our susceptibility to normal as well as to unusual impressions. In the delightful short poem 'Farewell' he enjoins us:

Look thy last on all things lovely,  
Every hour.

And this sums up what poetry can do for us. A secret quintessence of life is made to exude from sights and sounds to which we might have remained indifferent; and modern readers do not need, or try, to evaluate their pleasure by any logical or ethical standard. Like the mystic in religion, they know that their experience is good: its value is a matter of certitude, not of proof.

When Milton said that poetry should be 'simple, sensuous, and impassioned,' he laid down a firm ground of principle which poets and readers in every age can only re-interpret, and never change. Good poetry is always simple, in the sense that it deals directly with fundamentals of life which all more or less can understand, and does so in language untainted by the abstractions of science and philosophy. It is sensuous, because it conveys its message immediately, through imagery which stirs us because we are creatures of flesh and blood. When Vaughan desired to express his feeling about 'Friends Departed,' no sort of reasoning could have moved us like the image he uses:

He that hath found some fledged bird's nest may know,  
At first sight, if the bird be flown;  
But what fair well or grove he sings in now,  
That is to him unknown.

And above all poetry is impassioned, because the associations of its words, and the very movement of its rhythm, go down to what is instinctive in us. Poets respond to life far more keenly than ordinary men. We sometimes praise a mind that is 'dispassionate,' when we mean that its possessor can see and reason without any obscuring bias or prejudice. But no mind is complete which is wholly ignorant of the sort of passion that poets feel and communicate. It will always remain a mystery how poets succeed in charging their words with so strange a potency. They cannot explain it themselves. Nor can we explain why many people of acute understandings, which have raised them to eminence in their own activities or studies, are totally deaf to poetry and cannot even imagine its intrinsic thrill. Wise persons, aware of this deficiency in their own make-up, do not meddle with poetry at all; but the poetry-deaf who are less wise have a most unfortunate habit of treating the poets as if they were philosophers or politicians or moralists who had strayed into verse accidentally. To supply quotations for speeches, or tags for calendars, is the last object of a born poet.

We come back to the word 'impassioned,' for that is the gist of the whole thing. There is little sense in asking—What is the use of passion? The passion I have tried to indicate is the only medium through which the beauty of art is created or perceived by man: and such beauty, once made and felt, is its own justification. Some hard-headed and prosaic reader may nevertheless persist in asking: 'Even if this poetic passion is good in itself, what is the good of it otherwise?' This question is by no means unanswerable, though I have no space to develop the answer here. I can only suggest it in two words. Human understanding! That is the main derivative from an intelligent addiction to poetry. Poetry elevates, in the literal sense of that word. It takes us to a height, from which we see things in a wider proportion. Thereby we learn to look at life, and at our companions in life's vicissitudes, with new sympathy and tolerance. I have known many life-long appreciators of poetry, and all of them have their fair share of human frailties. But I have not met one among them who could be called a crank, or a bigot, or anything fanatical or crude or petty-minded. They may not be able to give a reasoned account of what poetry has meant for them, but as human beings they have evidently been mellowed by it. Here, I think, lies the clue to poetry's connexion with character in general. The greatest of our poets has summarized his view of the moral life of man in a short sentence—'Ripeness is all.'

J. E. BARTON.

## THE CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND

**T**H E leaders of the Parliamentary Army held a three-days' prayer meeting at Windsor Castle on April 29 and 30 and May 1, 1648. There was need for prayer. They had defeated the King who had succeeded in seventeen years of misgovernment in alienating the steadiest elements in the national life; the liberties of the subject seemed to be assured. Then, however, the real problems emerged. Months of futile negotiations for a peaceful settlement with a monarch, who still dreamed that he held all the winning cards, had at last convinced them of his complete insincerity. Now, the second Civil War was about to break out in South Wales, Kent, Essex and Lancashire; a Scottish Army 40,000 strong was about to invade England, not as in 1644 to save the Parliament but to save the King. Worst of all the victors had fallen out among themselves and Parliament and Army were at sixes and sevens. It was the crisis of crises in the long struggle, certainly *the* crisis in the career of Cromwell. It had been recognized on all sides in 1646 that it was the military genius of the Lieutenant-General that had been the chief factor in bringing about the royalist defeat. Now, he found himself suspected in all camps. To the royalists he was the embodiment of the Puritan revolt; to the Parliament he was the most dangerous of the Army leaders who refused to be disbanded; to many of his comrades in arms he seemed to be making his own bargain with the King. His own conscience was clear in that matter. 'I know,' he wrote to a friend, 'God has been above all ill reports and will in his own time vindicate me.' Clouds were gathering in every quarter of the sky. The storm would soon be upon them and the way was not clear. There was urgent need for prayer.

Such a prayer-meeting is surely unique in English history and is worth more attention than the historians have given

to it. These simple Puritan soldiers believed that they had been led by the divine Providence in all their actions; it was strange that they should be robbed of the fruit of their labours. They had acted, so they believed, in all sincerity, for the good of 'these poor Nations' but none of the four poor nations in question seemed really grateful. Ireland, Scotland and Wales were in open revolt and England only wanted them to go back to their homes. Was it possible that God Himself was dissatisfied with them? They were all ready to humble themselves before the Lord on account of their iniquities but they needed guidance as to the next step. There was a marked division in their own camp. Some were now ready to take the complete pacifist attitude, 'urging for such a practice the example of our Lord Jesus; who when he had borne an eminent testimony to the pleasure of his Father in an active way, sealed it at last by his sufferings.' Others, however, felt that the whole cause for which they had struggled would suffer defeat if they tamely withdrew now they were confronted by such a mass of problems. It was on the second day, after much praying and prophesying, that the Lieutenant-General spoke. He pressed upon them very earnestly to 'a thorough consideration of our actions as an Army, and of our ways particularly as private Christians: to see if any iniquity could be found in them.' Cromwell was sure that there had been a time when the Lord was with them as an army. Surely it was possible to recover that consciousness now and to be sure that the Lord was again leading His people forth.

It was on the next day, May 1, that the way became clear before them. They saw clearly enough their own wickedness, so that 'none was able hardly to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping.' How is it that no great artist has attempted a picture of this memorable scene? They were the best fighting men in Europe at that time. These were not the tears of fear or of anger, but of repentance and passionate intercession. The divine forgiveness was vouchsafed to them

and the way of action was made clear. 'Awake! awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord' was the tenor of their intercession and the reply, as ever, was, 'Awake! awake! stand up O Jerusalem, put on *thy* strength O Zion.' Hesitation and doubt were scattered. The decision was unanimous. Cromwell was himself again, for he was at one with his comrades. 'We were led and helped to a clear agreement amongst ourselves, not any dissenting, That it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies, which that year in all places appeared against us. With an humble confidence, in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them. And we were also enabled then, after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large there debated amongst us, That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's Cause and People in these poor Nations.' Every word in this statement needs to be carefully pondered if we are to understand Cromwell, to explain the execution of the King and all the effort made afterwards to establish the Commonwealth securely.

Mr. Buchan regards this prayer-meeting as 'politic as well as devotional' so far as Cromwell was concerned, 'for there he made his peace with the hot-heads,' that is, the extremist levellers and republicans. Mr. Belloc transfers this famous gathering to St. Albans (for some unknown reason) and finds it a very entertaining picture of a revival meeting used by Cromwell for his own ends. Both these writers are in agreement that the old myth of Cromwell's hypocrisy and ambition *is* a myth. He was not a hypocrite and he was not ambitious. Why not believe that Cromwell's cloudy and perturbed spirit was lightened of a great load of uncertainty and indecision at the Windsor prayer-meeting? It certainly fits in better with all we can discern of his strange

personality. In any case, when Mr. Belloc goes on to revive the old legend that Cromwell had been plotting the death of the King for months and that his negotiations with Charles were a sham, he enters the region of complete improbability. A dozen questions arise from that hypothesis making everything unintelligible. We cannot see what Cromwell had to gain by such a tortuous policy and when we are put off in our inquiries by the statement that Cromwell 'not only excelled in intrigue but excelled in lucidity of thought' we can only rub our eyes with astonishment and read the sentence over again. He has just been described as the born cavalry leader, he will soon be described as the soldier out of place fumbling ineffectually with futility in his effort to govern. Now he is the master of intrigue and of clear thinking. On the contrary, confusion is the mark of his letters and speeches; rambling and inchoate utterances, much fire and smoke, but the clear flame of genius flashes out only occasionally in some pungent phrase or memorable expression of feeling. There is a great mind there, undoubtedly, but it is hesitating, meditative and uncertain until in some passionate outbreak of emotion a great decision is registered. Thenceforward, once action has taken the place of meditation, there is no looking back; he moves with rapid steps towards the goal now clearly discerned. Gradually he had begun to see that 'the word of a King' was a broken reed. His innate conservatism clung to the old constitution of King, Lords and Commons. Step by step the extremists in the Army drove him on. As early as November 1647 Harrison was calling for vengeance on Charles Stuart as 'the man of blood.' It was Cromwell who was the restraining force. The long strain of exasperating negotiation, the treachery of the man who was trifling with the Army and the Scots at the same time, the outbreak of a new Civil War broke down Cromwell's hesitations. He only needed some clear indication of the Lord's guidance to move forward to decisive action. He was sure that he had received it at the Windsor prayer-

meeting. In a few short months English and Welsh and Scottish 'rebels' were scattered and Charles was beyond the reach of any further negotiations. John Morley is right in his judgement of Cromwell's character when he says: 'he had no stronger feelings in emergency than a dread of fore-stalling the Lord's dealings.'

Three important books were written on Cromwell in 1934, one of which claims to set forth the truth about his character after dozens of lives have given us nothing but myth. Earlier lives were 'a mass of slander'; later lives 'a mass of panegyric'; then came Mr. Belloc with the final judgement. G. M. Trevelyan, in reviewing Mr. Buchan's *Oliver Cromwell* in the *Spectator*, declared that Mr. Buchan's was 'the best book on Cromwell our generation is likely to produce.' He did not seem to think Mr. Belloc's *Cromwell* worth so much as a passing mention. Yet Mr. Belloc's book is well worth reading, as is that of Mr. F. H. Hayward, which has not attracted so much attention; they tend to cancel out one another if we are looking for the real Cromwell, though Mr. Hayward comes much nearer the mark than Mr. Belloc in his estimate of the man himself. The moving greatness of the man, called by an undreamed of crisis to the battle-field and to the seat of government, comes out in Mr. Buchan's book as in none since Carlyle wrote, and we are spared the extravagances and rhodomontade of Carlyle. Here, also, we have an adequate treatment of the chief battles of the Civil War. Cromwell the soldier has never received such full consideration as in these latest books. The fact that Colonel Buchan fought in the World-War may have given new zest to his interest, but it is unlikely that we shall ever have better or clearer accounts than he has given us of Edgehill, Marston Moor, Naseby and Dunbar. Mr. Belloc is here a good second. It is a kind of description in which Mr. Belloc has often excelled, but here he is beaten on his own field. He is mistaken in suggesting that Cromwell's real vocation was that of cavalry leader merely; in that case he would

have been found years earlier serving under Gustavus Adolphus.

'He was a tragic figure,' says Mr. Buchan of Charles I, 'because he was born into times which he could not understand and to a task that was too hard for him. The tragedy is there rather than in his death, for his execution was largely his own blame.' The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Cromwell. The forces that were at grips with each other in a life and death struggle in seventeenth-century England were so nearly equal that a tragic ending was inevitable for both parties. In the Civil War itself the genius of Cromwell and the help of the Scots might lead to the ruin of the King, but that was not the end of the struggle. Against all desire on his part Cromwell was driven to the task of the village constable, as he humorously described it, 'a task that was too hard for him.' Romantic glamour has gathered round the scene of the execution of Charles I and it may be staged as the last scene in a tragic drama. It is not so easy to write the tragedy of Cromwell for the catastrophe is not so vivid. The second tragedy is, however, more poignant than the first, by the measure of difference between the greatness of soul of a Cromwell and a Charles Stuart. For those who have never entered into Cromwell's soul the years of struggle for the salvation of England after 1649 provide merely a comic picture of a clumsy clown struggling to jump a ditch that was too wide for him and floundering back again and again into the mire until finally he disappeared in it altogether. The comic spirit could, of course, read the ineffective career of Charles I in the same way, but a deeper comment on the whole mass of misunderstandings as on some later wars, would have been Othello's heartbreaking cry:

But yet the pity of it, Iago! O Iago! the pity of it, Iago.

Great tragedy can only be written of a great personality; at least, there must be some complexity and magnanimity in the soul of the hero if he is to appear on the stage as a

tragic figure. This is obscured in popular speech to-day when the miskick of a back who scores against his own side at football is described as a tragic mistake and every road accident is a tragedy. If *The Tale of Two Cities* is presented as a tragedy, it is because Sydney Carton's range of thought and emotion gives him a stature adequate to the theme of tragedy. The little seamstress is his companion in the same journey to the same guillotine but we find her simple, faithful courage pathetic rather than tragic. So Shakespearean tragedy rises to its heights in *Hamlet* and *Othello*, rather than in *Macbeth* or even *Lear*; indeed, in the latter plays it is the more subtle characters of the women, Lady Macbeth and Cordelia, that provide us with the tragic figures. On any showing, Cromwell stands out as one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest personality in English history. He is as outstanding as Shakespeare and almost as mysterious. It has been said of him that 'he falls under no accepted category,' he 'sets classification at defiance, and seems to unite in himself every contrary,' 'dominates his generation like some portent of nature, a mystery to his contemporaries and an enigma to his successors.' Yet it is only by the accident of the Civil War that we have heard of him at all.

'I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity' is his own account of himself. Not only could Oliver count seventeen relations by blood or marriage in the personnel of the Long Parliament, but out of the fifty-nine names on the death-warrant of Charles I, no less than ten can be counted as of the Cromwell clan. It is incredible that a sketch of Cromwell should be published in our day which never suggests by one sentence that there was any real grievance to rouse the Commons of England to fight against their King. You cannot understand men like Eliot and Pym and Hampden and Cromwell unless you see that (rightly or wrongly) they imagined that Charles and his servants were threatening certain principles in the life of England that were dearer to them than home and friends

and life itself. A tender-hearted and affectionate man, with his affections centred in the domestic circle and in the quiet delights of the countryside; a meditative and deeply religious man, whose thoughts travelled as slowly and circuitously as his own river, the Ouse, there was deep down within him a hidden fire that might blaze out like a volcano. This was his strength as well as his weakness, for the fire that might flash in uncontrollable anger, leading to the greatest mistakes of his career, might also become the driving power to carry him through his great concerns on the battle-field and in the councils of the nation.

Is this picture of the future Protector too idealistic? One may enlarge on the rough horse-play of a rustic kind that breaks out in him at times and may speak in some scorn of his carelessness in dress and his harsh untuneable voice, but even then the humour and humanity of the man break through all appearances. Where do you find a more moving cry of grief from the domestic circle than his words near the end of his life about a son who had died twenty years before? 'This scripture' (Philippians iv. 11-13), 'did once save my life when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.' It is the same man who watches with ceaseless devotion through the summer of 1658 by the bedside of his dearly-loved daughter, Elizabeth. The business of the State and his own mortal illness are alike unregarded in the face of that sorrow. Such a father is cast in no common mould. Though Puritanism in our day is the butt of little minds and the implacable God before whom Cromwell bowed in reverential awe seems an object of amusement to those who have been brought up in the 'good fellow' tradition of the Almighty, yet man gained a dignity by that fellowship with the Eternal which is hard to discover in the men of our own day. The Puritan had his deep-seated prejudices. His fathers had not lived through the desperate days of the Wars of Religion in vain. Side by side with the Bible in every Puritan home was Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Twenty-seven

years before Cromwell was born was the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, in honour of which Rome was illuminated by order of the Pope. Twelve years later, William the Silent, the heroic leader of the Dutch resistance, was assassinated. The defeat of the Spanish Armada followed in another half-dozen years. These memories sank deep into the English mind and must have been the subject of much discourse in the home at Huntingdon. When Cromwell was nineteen years old the Thirty-Years War began and raged on until within a few weeks of the execution of Charles I. The hopes and fears of the Protestants of Europe gathered round the meteoric career of Gustavus Adolphus when Cromwell was in his early thirties; many of the leaders in the English Civil War gained their first experience of soldiering in his ranks. The Puritan brooded deeply over these events and wondered whether the day would ever come when he might have to take up the sword in defence of what he regarded as the Protestant liberties of England.

A course at Cambridge University cut short by his father's death, a period at the Inns of Court to acquire a smattering of law did not make Cromwell a student of books. Outside the Bible, which was his chief study, Raleigh's *History of the World* seems to have been his favourite. We can understand how he would respond to the great words with which the *History* closes: 'O eloquent, just and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none have dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet!*' From the peaceful fireside and from the fields of the Fen district but with a consciousness of eternal verities in the presence of which our little lives are lived Cromwell turned reluctantly to the national controversy. Indignation at the treatment of Eliot, passionate approval of his cousin Hampden's bold

fight over Ship Money, election to the Short and Long Parliaments led him inevitably to the heart of the conflict. Having been once called of the Lord to this struggle between light and darkness, he was not the man to turn back. One of our recent writers believes that Cromwell found himself as he scattered the Royalists at the head of his Ironsides; another says: 'Oliver had not found himself—that he was never to do in this world,' and the latter judgement is nearer the truth.

At the age of forty-three, in the chaos of Edgehill he began his apprenticeship in the art of war. The next year in the Eastern Association he is forging his weapon for the defeat of the King. He was finding 'men of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go.' His 'lovely company' of 'honest, sober Christians' at Grantham, at Gainsborough and at Winceby proved their quality. These were the happiest days of his life for he was fighting the Lord's battles with a chosen people behind him like another Gideon. Then followed the great triumph of Marston Moor. The Scots had guaranteed the victory but they brought new problems with them. Moreover, Manchester and his like, though true men were no Gideonites; so the New Model was formed and the end came at Naseby. Cromwell was to discover that the end was but a new beginning and the second act of the tragedy consists in the distracting endeavour to find a peaceful settlement where no peace is possible. We now learn that our enthusiast is a man of tolerance, out of the ordinary in these days of stern fanaticism and unyielding principle. So we came to the Windsor prayer-meeting when as Morley puts it, 'the curtain was rising for the last, most dubious, most exciting and most memorable act of the long drama in which Charles had played his leading and ill-starred part.' It was the last act in the tragedy of Charles I, but the third in the tragedy of Oliver Cromwell, when the plot became more entangled than ever and the chief actor found himself confronted with difficulties demanding superhuman courage and wisdom.

Now was the opportunity to fashion the godly state, so fervently and so long desired. But the godly could not travel forwards without the support of the majority, as Cromwell knew only too well. 'In the government of nations,' he said, 'that which is to be looked after is the affections of the people.' The remaining acts of the tragedy give the story of that failure but, as in every great tragedy, the failure is heroic. The fourth act sees the Lord-General of the Commonwealth in Ireland and Scotland and leads up to the 'crowning mercy' of Worcester. It contains some dark pages which can only be understood if we remember Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the exaggerated stories of the Irish massacre of 1641. 'A puritan armed with a musket and the Old Testament, attempting to reconstruct the foundations of a community mainly Catholic, was sure to end in clumsy failure.' Yet God was still with him to the final victory and the weary warrior would gladly then have withdrawn from pre-eminence and power. There was, however, no discharge in that war. The last and most complicated act begins. Seven years of experiment and endeavour, great conceptions of Empire for the three Kingdoms and of Protestant federations abroad, mixed with hasty and unfortunate improvisations. Worst of all, the uncertainty arises whether the Lord *were* still leading his servant or not, with the final pathetic word, 'I was in grace *once*.' For those who read human nature aright, Cromwell is seen at his greatest in these last years of his life.

In the quiet period that followed the battle of Worcester Cromwell discussed the form of settled Government with the leaders but could find no guidance. The remnants of the Long Parliament were content to go on in their dilatory way and even, towards the end, to attempt to perpetuate their existence. After eighteen months of ruffled patience the fires of wrath blazed out in England's leader and we get the violent scene of the scattering of the fifty or sixty members who claimed to be ruling the country. 'It's you

that have forced me to this,' said Cromwell, 'for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work!' There is no reason to disbelieve him. No man goes so far as he who does not know where he is going. So, at least, he had said on one occasion. Step by step, the lover of law and order, who disliked to use force in Government, was compelled to throw legality overboard and fall back on force. His next step was to nominate 150 men who feared God and had fought for the good cause to form his council. 'Surely these men will hit it,' he said. The record of the Nominated Parliament is far better than is sometimes assumed. It can be described as the greatest failure in modern history of an attempt to found the State upon the Bible. Oliver opened its sessions with a speech of lyrical enthusiasm. 'Never such a "people" so "formed" (Isaiah xliii. 21) for such a purpose were thus called before.' He would have been happier if they had been called by the suffrages of the people, but then the people were not yet fit for such a task. 'Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!' Still, nearly a hundred and fifty prophets were gathered together and he was full of hope. Years afterwards in looking back at that grievous disappointment he admitted that he was very simple in such an expectation. Very soon we find him saying: 'truly I never needed more help from my Christian friends than now.'

We must hurry through the stages of the Protectorate. He was Lord Protector for life with a Council of twenty-one members but he must call a Parliament every three years to sit at least five months. Five months (and five lunar months at that) was all that could be endured of a Parliament that would pull the constitution to pieces again. He could not suffer them to go on. If it were his liberty to walk abroad in the fields, it would not be his wisdom to do so when his house was on fire. He felt himself bound, 'as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations . . . to tell you that it is not for the common and public good for

you to continue here any longer.' So he was compelled to fall back on military dictatorship and the rule of the Major-Generals. 'Truly I have as before God often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what was the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good constable to keep the peace of the parish.' The Constable of England might believe in a generous toleration but his under-constables increased his unpopularity everywhere. The Second Protectorate Parliament was full of critics. Yet they would fain have made him King by a vote of 123 to 62. This plunged him into the clouds of great emotion. It was a hard decision and he took weeks over making up his mind. His enemies have said that it was a struggle between cowardice and ambition. They were wrong, for his ambition was to live under a wood side and keep a flock of sheep and he only refused what might have been God's challenge to him because his old comrades in arms were so bewildered. He had become old and his health was failing; he feared that secular aims were in danger of stifling the divine leading. Could a child of God fall from grace? The darkest clouds of all were gathering round him. He saw faction and disunion on every side and dissolved his last Parliament. 'Let God judge between you and me.' Abroad his power had been everywhere recognized. But what was earthly greatness? Eloquent death was knocking at the door. The passing of his daughter, Elizabeth, was the knell for his own departure. It seemed a tragic failure at the end, but 'God will be with His people' he said. A generation later the English people accepted a settlement of the stern quarrel, such as Cromwell himself would have approved. The seeming defeat was in reality a victory.

A. W. HARRISON.

## AN ARTIST AMONG THE PROPHETS

**G**OETHE held that the human form cannot be comprehended through seeing its surface: 'the hidden, the reposing, the foundation of the apparent, must be searched, if one would really see and imitate what moves as a beautiful inseparable whole in living waves before the eye.' Thus, though the artist have an eye like a camera, his perception must not be limited to things accidental. He will note the semblance of things, yet paint what he sees with the inward eye. Michael Angelo had already divined this secret and his vivid illustrations in stone and on canvas are clothed with immortality. What Hazlitt describes as the quality of 'gusto,' the power or passion defining an object, was eminently characteristic of the Italian genius: 'Michael Angelo's forms are full of gusto. They everywhere obtrude the sense of power upon the eye. His limbs convey the idea of muscular strength, of moral grandeur, and even of intellectual dignity: they are firm, commanding, broad, and massy, capable of executing with ease the determined purpose of the will. His faces have no other expression than his figures, conscious power and capacity. They appear only to think what they shall do, and to know that they can do it.'

In Mr. Salisbury's paintings of the prophets, a vivid sense of power is at once apparent. These ancient Hebrews throb with life. 'Life and Power' is the instant verdict—a tribute to the artist's vision, and to his power of interpretation. He must have lived with these men. He has seen them in his imagination and heard them declare the word of the Lord. And you, too, wait expectant.

These canvases were painted to illustrate *The Prophets of Israel*<sup>1</sup> by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman. The text of this fine

<sup>1</sup>*The Prophets of Israel*. By S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., LL.D. Illustrated by Frank O. Salisbury. The Macmillan Company, New York. 14s. net.

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book is all we have been led to expect from that learned scholar and divine. It bears the impress of a clear mind and a great personality. But our present concern is with Mr. Salisbury's interpretations, which Dr. Cadman considers eloquent illustrations of the artist's great genius for portraiture.

Here is a quite unusual achievement in modern art and each study suggests deep reflection. There is evidence, too, of moments of insight, hints of unpremeditated art. In one or two instances, as in the portraits of Amos and Elijah, the prophets seem to have leaped upon the canvas. Mr. Salisbury knows his Bible and is not unacquainted with questions of criticism. But he leaves the critic and the theologian to elucidate their own problems. He concentrates on character and his canvases are a significant commentary, an attempt to reveal the souls of men he deems of the spiritual aristocracy of the world.

Moses is represented as speaking with God face to face, as a man speaketh with his friend. God is invisible. The glory of His throne is reflected in the face of Moses, who is tense with the passion of entreaty: 'Oh this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them a god of gold. Yet now if Thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written.' We see now the meaning of God's revelation in the bush that burned and was not consumed. We see, too, why God called him from the wilderness and sternly rebuked him for letting the sacred fire die down. And, as with a flash we gain a hint of the sacred writer's meaning: 'My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful in all mine house: with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in dark speeches; and the form of the Lord shall he behold.' This picture tells the story of the great leader's high communion, of his unconscious spiritual beauty, of one who wist not that his face shone. And the secret of his endurance comes home with deeper significance: he never lost that vision. Through

all the days and nights of his arduous pilgrimage he saw the face of Him who was at once his Counsellor, Companion and Guide. In this bold rendering the artist discloses the secret of that mighty vision which brought to Moses unfailing inspiration.

He has depicted what is perhaps the supreme moment in the career of Moses. The left hand grips his right shoulder but the right arm is concealed beneath the folds of his robe; yet though hidden you know it is clenched in an agony of intercession. And his pleading is such that he bears without shrinking the dazzling light of the Eternal. This intensity of intercession reminds us of Christ's agony in Gethsemane. It is an effect that bespeaks the hand of a master.

Another dramatic painting, though perhaps less spiritual in its appeal, is the study of Elijah. The intrepid Tishbite has challenged the prophets of Baal and it seems as if he would force God to declare Himself: 'Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that Thou art God in Israel, and that I am Thy servant, and that I have done all these things at Thy word.' Elijah is clad in prophet's garb with his mantle over his left shoulder. The muscles and sinews of his arms are taut: the right arm is upraised, the left is in line with the body. Both fists are clenched and you might almost imagine the nails of the right hand were biting into the flesh. The head is thrown back and his upward gaze suggests the confidence of heaven's approval. The whole attitude is of one who will brook no denial. The flames already leap from the altar while the fires consume the sacrifice. It is the hour of the prophet's triumph, and you can almost hear the echo of his sardonic taunts with which he mocked the priests of Baal: 'Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awakened.' The picture stimulates reflection and you recall that this is not the last act of the drama. Elijah's God answers by fire. But you cannot escape the dramatic

sequel to the prophet's dramatic victory. You think inevitably of the prophet's collapse. Even while you are gripped with the vividness of the scene portrayed, Nature's own drama of wind, earthquake and fire breaks upon the inward ear, and, though it is not in the picture, you feel it was behind the artist's conception; and in the hush that follows you instinctively listen for the voice of the spirit: 'After the fire the still small voice.'

Another vivid representation is of Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa, who declared himself to be no prophet nor yet a prophet's son. But he hears God's call and an impulse seizes him. Aflame with his message, he leaves his flocks and suddenly appears at the ancient sanctuary of Bethel: 'When the lion roars who will not fear, when Yahweh speaks who will not prophesy?' He is represented standing in the porch of the sanctuary. His right hand grasps his shepherd's crook while his left arm and forefinger are upraised, tense and rigid, in warning admonition:

Lo! this man's brow, like to a title-page,  
Foretells the nature of a tragic volume.  
Thou tremblest, and the whiteness in thy cheek  
Is apter than thy tongue to tell thine errand.

With pallid face and eyes as a flame of fire, he looks the prophet of doom: 'The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?' In the background of the picture stands a white bull—symbolic of Assyrian vices with which the shrines of Dan and Bethel had become corrupt. The prophet is alive in every nerve and sinew and you expect to hear him speak: 'Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live . . . Hate the evil and love the good, and establish judgement in the gate: it may be that the Lord God of hosts will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph.' Mr. Salisbury's art suggests what we know the prophet of Tekoa to have been—the very embodiment of the moral law.

The portrayal of Isaiah records the prophet's unforgettable vision: 'In the year that King Uzziah died I saw the Lord

sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.' The prophet's lips have been touched with a live coal from off the altar: his iniquity has been taken away, and his sin purged. The artist has painted a wonderful face in profile—strong, clean-cut, refined, the face of one purified by a deep spiritual experience and tuned to finer issues. Isaiah holds with both hands the scroll he has been reading, but he does not seem to have quite divined its meaning, and his eyes have the eager, intent look of one rapt in vision: he is still awed with the thought of the ineffable Presence. A seraph stands in the background with face thinly veiled, holding a torch in his right hand. Isaiah has heard the Lord's voice: 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' And he has replied: 'Here am I; send me.' But though he has accepted God's challenge his face is touched with an air of mystery as of one baffled by the nature of his task. Still eager and intent to understand his mission he receives the disconcerting news that his message will fall on unheeding ears. He is commissioned to a people who hear, indeed, but understand not; and, see indeed, but perceive not. Despite his ministry the people will harden their hearts, yet he cherishes the belief that a remnant will ultimately turn to God. No face in all the artist's gallery is touched with such refinement of spiritual beauty. Mr. Salisbury has entered into the secret place of the prophet's soul.

The artist's portrayal of Jeremiah, probably the greatest of all the prophets, is one of his most arresting studies. It presents a study of hands only less significant than that of the face. It is not the figure of a weeping prophet but rather that of a stern judge ever conscious of an impending calamity he was impotent to avert. Impressive in its introspection, the face is of one over whom great waters have rolled. Like many prophets both before and since his day he lived in a world not unlike that described by Matthew Arnold, save that his message could not be altogether ignored:

'O monstrous, dead, unprofitable world,  
 That thou canst hear, and hearing, hold thy way.  
 A voice oracular hath peal'd to-day,  
 To-day a hero's banner is unfurl'd.  
 Hast thou no lip for welcome?' So I said.  
 Man after man, the world smil'd and passed by:  
 A smile of wistful incredulity  
 As though one spake of noise (life) unto the dead:  
 Scornful, and strange, and sorrowful; and full  
 Of bitter knowledge.

A true patriot, he was yet a solitary man, unpopular, denounced and ostracized as a traitor by his countrymen for whose welfare alone he lived, whose sins he mediated and never ceased to deplore. 'Return thou backsiding Israel, saith the Lord; and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you: for I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not keep anger for ever.' . . . Not a few of his writings are in the nature of prophetic autobiography. 'But I was like a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter; and I knew not that they had devised devices against me, saying, Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered.'

The hands in this painting cannot be ignored: Indeed both hands and face mirror the prophet's soul. Romano Guardini holds that after the face, the hand is the most spiritual part of the body: 'It is firm and strong, as the tool for work, as the weapon for attack or defence; but it is very delicately formed, with many joints, flexible, and penetrated with sensitive nerves of feeling. It is truly a machine through which man can reveal his soul.'<sup>1</sup> All this is implied in Mr. Salisbury's interpretation. He depicts Jeremiah sensitive as a poet and with a prophet's insight as he sits brooding with arms half-raised, hands downwards bent with fingers outstretched in woeful prediction, yet pitying exhortation. His scroll of prophetic discourses, written out by Baruch only to be cut up and thrown into the fire by King Jehoiachim,

<sup>1</sup>*Sacred Signs*. By Romano Guardini. Sheed & Ward.

lies across his knee. This impressive, unyielding prophet though ultimately exiled from his native land, wrought the greatest transformation in the religious teaching of Israel by his doctrine of the New Covenant. He was the first to recognize the place of the individual in religion. He made it the concern of the individual conscience. Faithful to his mission he declared the word of the Lord: 'This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.'

In his treatment of Ezekiel Mr. Salisbury presents another arresting figure. It is a study of the prophet as priest, who by emphasis on his priestly functions has been designated Ezekiel—the High Churchman. Like Isaiah this prophet, too, received his call in a vision, and also his conception of the sovereignty, glory and holiness of God. The truths thus communicated dominated his entire career. He was born of a priestly family and lived in Judah for twenty-five years when he was exiled in Babylon with the élite of his countrymen. He pondered much on the history of Israel, thought of its sinful record in sharp contrast to the purity and holiness of God and, along with Jeremiah, predicted the fall of Jerusalem as a result of the nation's sin. As priest and prophet he helped to prepare the Holiness Code and sought to consolidate religious worship among the exiles. He had a firm belief in Israel's restoration.

The artist has painted an austere, pontifical figure, not unlike that of Jeremiah. Ezekiel sits as if in judgement, with the scroll—probably a roll of lamentations—in his left hand while his right suggests an admonitory purpose. So vivid is this portrayal you can almost see the prophet thinking and if thoughts were visible Ezekiel's could be read.

A deep sense of responsibility, yet withal a calm dignity, is stamped on the prophet's face; it is the face of a singularly

powerful and fascinating personality. Indeed the artist's conception seems to have derived from one of Ezekiel's significant utterances. The exiles doubted the justice of God: they were suffering the penalty of the fathers' sin. Ezekiel replies with his doctrine of individual responsibility: 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son.' The skull in the background emphasizes this irrevocable law. It also suggests the question, 'Son of man, can these bones live?'

Mr. Salisbury sees in the Nameless Prophet one who spake words of comfort and inspiration to the exiles in Babylon. He does not know who wrote the four Songs of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh but his portrayal is not inconsistent with Dr. Cadman's view that the main theme is 'the exaltation of a single and elect personality through whom Jehovah would accomplish the salvation of his people'; that indeed by his idealization of the unidentified Servant 'whose extreme suffering and humiliation insured his spiritual enthronement,' the Nameless Prophet became the evangelist of the Old Testament. The artist's motive is clear. He knows that unlike Amos, the nameless seer was no prophet of doom but of a radiant future. And he has presented the figure of one eager to tell the good news: his face has a benignant, almost motherly concern and his arms are outstretched, not in warning, but in compassion, as of one who yearns to gather the nation to his heart. He speaks to Israel in the very midnight of her despair and his words of comfort and hope are perhaps the most heartening of all the prophetic messages: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.'

A way is to be prepared for the exiles' return. In the desert a highway; every valley shall be exalted, every mountain and hill be made low; the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain. He thinks of God as a good shepherd who feeds His flock and carries the lambs in His

bosom. And he tells them that though grass withers and flowers fade yet the word of God shall stand for ever.

But the prophet is no mere rhapsodist. His message has a deep content of thought and thrills with inspiration as he announces Israel's true destiny: 'I the Lord have called thee in righteousness . . . and will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles.' His soul glows in every sentence as he pleads with his countrymen to return to the religion of their forefathers: 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.'

Mr. Salisbury's conception has also been influenced by the high moment of the prophet's commission: 'The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.'

Behind the prophet a rainbow spans the horizon, a symbol of the hope that was to find its fulfilment in Israel's return to Zion and in the messianic mission of the ideal Israel of the future.

Habakkuk had a touch of the sceptic. Indeed, so baffled was he at the prosperity of the wicked that he complains, investigates, and even challenges God on behalf of the people. 'Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness, wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?' Yet his was that honest doubt that often wins through to a living faith and he has been aptly described as the sentinel of God: 'I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak with me, and what I shall answer concerning my complaint.' The artist presents him with eager, inquiring gaze, standing upon his watch-tower with face upturned,

not without faith, yet seeking to penetrate the divine mysteries. His arms and hands, with open palms which form an acute angle to the body, harmonize with his upward gaze. Indeed they are so rigid, even to the finger tips, as to emphasize the intensity of his appeal. It is a strong, intellectual face with a hint of audacity and the determined air of one who demands a solution to his problem: 'The Lord is in His holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him.' But he is not without definite convictions and these he declares with no shade of ambiguity: 'The just shall live by his faith. . . . Woe to him that establisheth a city by iniquity.' Habakkuk's vision of the future still inspires: 'For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

In his study of Jonah, Mr. Salisbury reveals his artistic integrity in refusing to allow apparent inconsistencies of story or legend to modify his clear conception of character. The author of the Book of Jonah cannot forget that Israel had been disciplined and redeemed that she might become a light to the Gentiles. But she had grown self-centred and exclusive. Whatever missionary spirit had stirred the nation's heart had completely died down and her dream of leading other nations to Yahweh had faded. Indeed she had come to think of Yahweh in terms of a monopoly and thought of Him as solely the God of Israel, concerned with her interests alone. She even imagined other nations to be not merely outside His sympathy, but objects of His wrath and contempt. And the story of the man who bore the name of Jonah, the prophet, may be interpreted as a protest against this hard and exclusive attitude towards heathen nations. It has been described as the most beautiful story ever written in so small a compass. Jonah's refusal to preach the word of the Lord to the Ninevites lest they should repent and be saved, and his attempt to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, is a dramatic indictment of the national spirit. In Jonah the artist has painted one of his most impressive

figures: the face is tense and gaunt, the aspect of one who has been baffled and rebuked, and you would hardly be surprised to hear him say: 'The waters compassed me about, even to the soul; the deep was round about me . . . When my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord.' But the word of the Lord came a second time to Jonah. And he went and fulfilled his mission. The story relates that when the Ninevites believed in God and turned from their evil way God also repented of His threat to destroy them. But few things are more stubborn or unjust than religious prejudice. How hard it dies is seen in Jonah's anger when he saw that Nineveh was to be saved. He is not yet convinced that a heathen nation comes within the scope of God's mercy: he even blames God for his first refusal to preach because he knew that if the Ninevites did repent God would forgive. It is this obstinate mood which Mr. Salisbury so vividly depicts on the face of the prophet: 'I knew that Thou art a gracious God, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy.'

But when Jonah sheds his national prejudice he learns that God not only cares for the people of Nineveh but even for their cattle. This high and beautiful conception of God ranks the author among the greatest of Old Testament teachers. Though perhaps the most difficult to portray, this portrait of Jonah is not the least successful.

In his interpretation of Daniel Mr. Salisbury has painted the face of one in which refinement, reserve, and the 'high sculpture of character' are clearly set forth. The book of Daniel appears to have been written during the Maccabean period and its specific aim was to encourage the Jews to be steadfast and loyal to their faith in face of relentless persecution—to be steadfast indeed even to the point of martyrdom.

Daniel, the hero and traditional author of the book, was nobly born and endowed with rare physical and intellectual qualities. When but a youth he was carried by Nebuchadnezzar from Judah along with three other youths of noble

descent. Here he gave proof of his moral excellence in his refusal to defile himself by the king's meat and wine. It is significant that he became chief minister and adviser at the court; and the stories of his consistent courage and faith, particularly in his supreme trial in the lions' den, appealed powerfully to the imagination of his countrymen and undoubtedly stimulated their faith in one of the most distressing periods of the nation's history.

The artist has depicted the face of one who believes that the wisdom and might of God are greater than the combined wisdom and might of earthly kings and potentates: 'He changeth the times and the seasons: He removeth kings, and setteth up kings: He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding.'

The face is also radiant with the light of one who you may well imagine looks beyond the darkness of death with unfaltering faith in the ultimate triumph of spiritual forces: 'And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'

This gallery of Hebrew Prophets is unique. The ancient seers spring to life and the impact of their message breaks upon our ears. Here is a company who in their spiritual pilgrimage caught the eternal accent, who in life were delivered from the body of this death. To look into their faces is to behold men who walked and talked with God and who knew that amidst the changes and chances of this fleeting world the Word of our God abideth for ever.

These interpretations are a tribute to the spiritual insight of the artist and an impressive witness to the ministry of Art.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

## MODERN DICTATORSHIPS

**T**O-DAY, many States in Europe, under various disguises, are virtual dictatorships. This is, of course, an old form of statesmanship: but the new form has undergone some distinctive and fundamental changes. It is significant to note that those States which have now adopted this form of government, e.g. Russia, Italy, Germany, have no record of a successful liberal or democratic government. It is equally illuminating to note that in such countries as England, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, where liberal and democratic government has been an established fact and force in their political history for many years prior to the War, the idea of a dictatorship has gained little popular support. Spain, another country without democratic political tradition, seems to be passing through the post-war stages of democratic revolution: and may in turn resort to a dictatorship, or settle down to a democratic form of government. Much will depend on the economic difficulties she has to face, and the ability with which the present rulers deal with them.

The Germany we know was not a unified State until 1870. Its popular Assembly, the Reichstag, was elected by manhood suffrage, but it was in no sense of the term liberal or democratic. In the first place, its voting power was so arranged that the people were but indifferently represented. Wealth, not populace, was its true basis. In the second place, the Reichstag had no real power. That lay in the Second Chamber, the Bundesrath, which represented the governments of the individual component States of the Empire, and was therefore not popularly elected at all. The State ministers were servants of the Crown, and not of Parliament. Modern Italy dates from an even later year than modern Germany. Exceptional difficulties of unification led to the strong centralization of its Government, to the detriment of the

popular general assembly. Economic conditions were bad, and its parliament which had been modelled on English lines quickly degenerated into a cockpit of petty bickering based on ancient traditional feuds, and class differences, which hindered all parliamentary progress. Russia is one of the oldest states in Europe, but its backward political condition can be adequately judged from the fact that its first Duma or General Assembly did not meet until 1905!

In Russia, Italy and Germany the catastrophe of the Great War, and the economic difficulties of the early post-war years, led to a violent re-action in favour of revolutionary, socialistic government. These years were exceptionally difficult throughout Europe. Unbounded enthusiasm and idealism proved to be no substitute for specialized experience in the Art of Statesmanship. The stress of the times brought into disrepute the new governments. There were no well-worn democratic channels of government, which could receive the new stream of political thought. A new form of dictatorship seemed to be the only alternative; hence there arose a Lenin and a Stalin in Russia, a Mussolini in Italy, and a Hitler in Germany. This new form of dictatorship, however, differs from that of ancient times, although it preserves many of its functions. Unlike that of old days it tries to retain the idealism and enthusiasm of democratic revolution. It tries to force a socialistic idealism into the mould of an autocratic absolutism. In this, it is unique in the political history of the world. An examination of these modern dictatorships will show that in spite of great differences, there are certain fundamental principles which are common to all.

The first and the greatest of these, is the belief in the integral unity of the State—of the fusion of the People and the State. The State and the People are one. The claims of class, race, religion are only permissible in so far as they minister directly to this political unity. Russia declares that the State is the working class—and by this she means the

manual labouring class. All her inhabitants must belong to this class. This is done by direct and indirect compulsion, by economic pressure, and by moral persuasion. There is no State recognition of any but manual workers. This was at first a very small proportion of the people, but all classes *can* qualify themselves as citizens of the Communist State by two or three years' work as State manual labourers. The old higher classes, by death, exile and imprisonment, are rapidly becoming extinct. The peasants, still the largest class in Russia, are slowly but surely being forced into this State-labourer citizenship. The young are being educated as little Communists. Thus Russia claims that in time—and rather sooner than later—the State will be an indivisible unity whose people will have the same outlook on, and purpose in, Life—who will, in short, all be Communists. Germany hopes to attain this unity through race. The Aryan people is to be the German State: none other is to be tolerated. Again by persecution, exile, and economic pressure, the State is to be purged of all alien elements, until the State and the people are one—until all are Nazis. Italy has an equally strong belief in the indivisible unity of the State. She has had to deal with no big problems of either class or race, for most of the people of Italy are Italian by race, and peasant proprietors in class. The trouble there has been the petty traditional feuds between the old States, and the utter inability of the individual Italians to co-operate. The State now compels all these differences to be sunk in the identity of the State. All Italians must, in short, become Fascists. Again, persecution, direct and indirect compulsion, economic pressure, and moral suasion are the means used to attain this end. In all three States, the special privileges of citizenship, of housing, of games, of free entertainments, of education, of food, are reserved for the chosen. Each country claims to have a prophet—a dictator—who alone can interpret the real meaning of the unity of the State. They all apparently maintain that unity and uniformity are synonymous terms.

They do not seem to understand that finer conception of spiritual unity which is based on diversity.

The modern dictatorships are essentially idealistic and socialistic. Once this conception of the unity of the State is accepted, then the ideal of the State is the greatest good for all. The national resources of the State, both material and cultural, are gathered together to be re-distributed to meet the needs of all. In the strictest socialistic sense it is carried out in theory in Russia. All land and capital are owned in common, and production is organized under a planned system. All planning emanates from the Central Authority, goes thence to the Province, the District, the factory and the worker. After discussion at each of these stages, it returns to the Central Authority, which finally imposes regulations which are intended to meet the needs of all. These regulations deal with industry, agriculture, rents, wages, housing, amusements, and education. Although in both Italy and Germany private capital is allowed, the needs and demands of the State must come first. Industry and agriculture, imports and exports are controlled for the benefit of all. By 'benefit' is not meant the general monetary benefit accruing to the State from trade—what is meant is the direct benefit to the individual member of the State: and no one member must become rich at the expense of another. Again, the Central Authority does all the planning—but plans are made, and needs discussed in Province, district, town and village through the Fascist organizations in Italy, and the Nazi organizations in Germany. All three dictatorships rightly claim that they keep in direct touch with the needs of the people. They then impose regulations on the State, controlling trade, medical service, housing, rent, food, games, papers, wireless and education for the mutual benefit of all. Nothing is too big for the State to control, and nothing is too small for it to notice. It is the duty of the State, e.g. not merely to subsidize directly or indirectly the building of houses, but also to fix the rents

of such blocks of buildings, and actually in principle choose the tenants. Housing in Russia is strictly rationed according to population, and rents specifically fixed up to a certain grade of house. All members of the Communist party and their adherents are eligible for such houses or flats. For members outside the Communist State, the Russian Soviet makes no provision.

In Italy, the State subsidizes private builders, but the municipal authorities have a voice in the selection of tenants. The Commission appointed in Rome, e.g. decided the rents demanded, and prepared lists of would-be tenants (all Fascists) who were to have priority in the following order:

- (1) Disabled men of the War or Revolution.
- (2) Good citizens, parents of large families.
- (3) Ex-service men of small families.
- (4) Municipal employees.

This is typical of the care that is exercised by the State over all rights, many of which have been hitherto regarded as the private right of the citizen. These new experiments in statesmanship are idealistic also, in that *service* only is the road to power. No class or religious differences are allowed in the service of the State. All must dedicate their work to the State, which demands implicit obedience and the strictest discipline from its servants. No money is to be made out of the work of the State. There are no wealthy offices; more power means more service; corruption and bribery amongst State officials are unknown. To make money directly or indirectly out of office in the State, is regarded and treated as treason against the State. The Commissars, the highest paid officials in the Russian State, get only very modest salaries not far removed from those of workmen. The Podestas, the Fascist Governors of large districts in Italy, are unpaid officials. The State demands from all its people *service* and *sacrifice*.

It is quite new in the history of statesmanship to suppose that the *leisure* of the people is the direct and systematic

responsibility of the State: that it has the duty to look after the cultural, as well as the material and physical welfare of its people. Germany, it is true, in the old days had its State Opera Houses and its State Theatres, but this was only a small provision which reached the comparatively few. There has also been very inadequate provision in England, e.g. libraries and swimming baths. In the main, however, these have been organized rather casually, as charitable side-shows. The new dictatorships regard the organization of leisure as one of their main duties. Necessity has partly dictated this, because of the enforced idleness of large numbers. It has also been largely developed as one of the best means of propaganda. On the games and physical activities side it is definitely encouraged as a preliminary basis for military training. But whatever the incentive has been, the result is the full development by the State of all its resources for the cultural benefit of the people. In Russia the Government builds theatres and concert halls and supplies famous artistes. These have not yet reached the villages—but even in these, halls for the people are being put up. It is the duty of the local Communist party to put these halls to the best cultural uses. They are largely at the moment educational, because Russia has as yet an illiterate adult population. They can, however, call upon the resources of the State who will supply speakers, teachers, books, and films. Every little Communist enjoys sports on a large and varied scale. In the villages this is generally free: and in the towns, either free or at such a small cost as to be within the reach of everybody. The wireless, too, is greatly used. In the new blocks of workmen's houses in the towns, it is supplied practically free. It is also installed by the Government in every village hall, and where there is no hall, in the main village street or square. The Government also supplies a daily programme, which is partly propagandist and partly cultural. Italy has an even better developed system than Russia. A particular branch of the administration is set apart to deal with the

cultural development of the leisure of the people. This department is known as the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro. It has its branches and branch offices in every village and town in Italy. These are in charge of the local Fascists whose duty it is to organize lectures, discussions, concerts, games and physical activities, cinema shows and plays. They can draw upon the resources of the State for this purpose. Many forms of amusement are entirely free; others cost so little that nobody is deprived of the privilege of attending. In addition, Italy has a fleet of travelling cinemas and theatres, which put the best films, plays and actors within the reach of all. In both Italy and Russia plenty of playing fields are provided by the State for the young. Germany is following in the footsteps of Italy, and along the same lines. The idea behind this State organization of leisure time, is not merely amusement and propaganda: it is definitely for the cultural benefit of the people, to train them to make a wise and healthy use of leisure time. These new dictatorships have recognized the urgency of the problem of leisure, and are definitely attempting to solve it on national lines.

The attitude of these governments towards religion is well-defined. In Russia, Italy and Germany the State is first and foremost. Russia is definitely atheistic, and has done her best to stamp religion out. She has failed in this, so now the functions of the Church are strictly limited. Religion must not be taught to children, nor must the Church exercise any charitable or social function. Congregations cannot exceed a limited definite number. Contravention of any of these regulations leads to heavy punishment. The atheistic hope of Russia lies in the children, who are definitely educated in atheistic principles. It is the atheistic young Communist for whom all the special privileges are reserved. Russia believes that if the influences of religion and Church are not allowed to reach the children until the eighteenth year of their age, then they can be definitely counted upon as young atheists: thus the Church will die a natural death.

by inanition. Italy, though putting the State first, does not cut out religion altogether. Mussolini declares that Fascism is not an irreligious body. Definite orthodox Catholic teaching is given in the schools. It is embodied in the national laws 'that whoever publicly reviles the religion of the State shall be punished with penal servitude for up to one year.'

Mussolini in 1929 arranged a religious Concordat with the Pope. Nevertheless, there has been bitter hostility between the Church and the State. This was really a struggle between an all-embracing Church and an all-embracing State in which the State won. The State claimed the right of directing all social or educational functions of the Church, other than those which were purely religious. In particular, the Church had to renounce its non-religious activities for the young, particularly its pursuit of games and athletics for youngsters. They could have no counter organization to the 'Ballila' and the 'Avanguardisti' the two organizations of youth in the Fascist movement. In Germany a similar struggle is going on. A Nazi Reichsbishop has been appointed to superintend the activities of the Protestant Church, and to bring it into line with the Nazi organization of the State. It is rousing the bitterest opposition. The struggle is now at its height: the outcome is as yet uncertain.

There are two principles long accepted by old States, which are rather discredited by the new. The first is the value of money as the chief basis of economic life and social enjoyment: the second is parliamentary institutions as we understand them. By all manner of means, direct and indirect, the citizens are shown that work, service, national production are of infinitely more value than private profit-making. Money-making is put in its proper place of secondary importance. In Russia money-making is a collective and not an individual business. In Italy and Germany the private profiteer is regarded as one of the worst enemies of the State. Again, in Russia and Italy, all these cultural pleasures of leisure are not only available to the few who

can pay for them—but can be enjoyed by all, rich and poor alike.

There is no parliament in our sense of the term in either Russia or Italy. The whole work of the State is carried on through the Communists in Russia and through the Fascists in Italy. The whole country in both cases is mapped out in districts and provinces. The local Communist or Fascist organization sends its chosen representatives to the district assembly, thence by election to the Provincial Assembly and finally again by election to the National Assembly, which is still called a Parliament, it is true, but which is only representative of the party organization. The elections are so arranged that all members of the National Assembly are approved by the executive. The Commissars are the executive in one case, the Fascist Grand Council in the other. Both these Councils either by direct or indirect means are supreme over the National Assembly. They may retain an old form like the monarchy in Italy, or collaborate with expert economic opinion, as both Russia and Italy do—but the power still rests with the party organization. It is a highly centralized form of government which spreads its tentacles over every phase of national life. It is an autocratic and absolute form of government: the very antithesis of real democracy. Germany is just modelling itself on these lines.

In nothing are the new dictatorships so distinctive in their outlook, as in their attitude towards the young. They know full well that they can never hope to obtain a real unity in the present generation. They can, and do, compel an outward uniformity. They are building, however, for the future. They are doing all that is humanly possible to train the young in the way they should go. Definite training from the earliest stages is given in the schools in the Communist and Fascist faith. All their school books and pictures idealize the work of these parties. In their leisure hours they are drawn into organizations for youth.

It is made definitely attractive to them: for all games, sports, amusements, social facilities, holiday hours, medical services, and travel are only to be obtained through the medium of membership of the Youth movements of these organizations. These State movements are graded according to age, until the child reaches maturity and enters into the full party organization. Nothing is left to chance: Russia definitely sets out to make Communists and Italy to make Fascists. They fully believe that the next generation will see a real unity in their countries; that it is the next generation that will see the full fruition of the ideals of Communism and Fascism. In this way, their political faiths will be perpetuated.

There is much in these governments that is offensive to peoples trained in the tradition of the democratic ideal. The blatant employment of compulsion to force intelligent people to conform where they heartily disapprove: the magnifying of the State into a sort of fanatical religion: the interpretation of idealism through purely materialistic channels: the acceptance of a Lenin, a Stalin, a Mussolini and a Hitler as the final arbiters of the destinies of their nations—all this is repugnant to the liberal minded. This idolatrous worship of the Nation will surely become an International danger. On the other hand, there is much that provokes thought, and might with benefit be considered by the older and more democratic governments of Europe.

ALICE M. EVANS.

## WESLEY'S 'ORDINATIONS'—A RETROSPECT

THE recent Sesquicentennial Commemoration,<sup>1</sup> in Baltimore, U.S.A., of the famous 'Christmas Conference' held there in 1784, at which the Methodist Episcopal Church of America was founded and its constitution adopted suggests a review of the significance of Wesley's ordinations that immediately preceded the American organization. Such an inquiry may also prove of use in view of present-day re-union proposals, and particularly in considering the relation of ideas concerning 'Orders' current in the Methodism of Wesley's later days to the constitution for the South Indian Church now under consideration. How far has the course of events during the last hundred and fifty years, during which the episcopal organization of Methodism on the other side of the Atlantic has been the subject of confused and confusing controversy, brought before us material evidence that may tend to illumine, possibly to relieve, a persistent ecclesiastical problem?

As to the facts themselves there has been little advance. But these are now as clearly known as they are ever likely to be. This does not mean that they are free from obscurity. They are not. Perhaps it was never intended that they should be. Briefly this is what we know. On September 2, 1784, at five o'clock in the morning in his chamber at 6, Dighton Street, Bristol, the house of his friend and physician, Dr. Castleman,<sup>2</sup> Wesley, assisted by another presbyter of the Church of England, James Creighton, 'set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands' Thomas Coke, D.C.L., also a presbyter of the Church of England, as 'superintendent,' and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as 'elders' for the work of God in America. The other ordinations that

<sup>1</sup> October 10-14, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> A bronze tablet commemorating this historic event was unveiled outside this house on September 1, 1934.

almost inevitably followed this first act and deed were for work exclusively in Scotland; then for missionary work overseas. These, it will be noticed, were all for regions outside the parochial system and boundaries of the Church of England. They took place between 1785 and 1788. They were for the office of 'deacon' and 'elder,' with an exception in the case of Alexander Mather, upon whom Wesley conferred the further office of 'superintendent.' Finally, on Ash Wednesday, 1789, Wesley ordained Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin. These two, with Alexander Mather, were authorized to fulfil their office in England. All these ordinations were carried through in private; many of them at four o'clock in the morning; and the procedure appears to have been the same in all cases—prayer and the imposition of hands by the presbytery; Wesley giving to each ordinand letters testimonial.

Our first concern is to discover, and if possible to define, the significance of these events for their participants—ordinands and those who ordained. Up to a point the mind and purpose of Wesley, the chief participant, is clear. Beyond this point it is, for one usually so distinctly logical as Wesley, much confused. In his attitude to the current acceptation of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession we know with sufficient precision where he stood. His reading of Lord (Chancellor) King's treatise on *The Primitive Church* thirty-eight years earlier had led him to regard the uninterrupted succession (through the episcopacy) as 'a fable which no man ever did or can prove.' Apostolical authority for orders, if any remained, must, therefore, lie in historical continuity in the line of the presbytery. Lord King had convinced him that 'bishops and presbyters are of the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain.' He considered himself justified, therefore, in replying to his brother Charles's criticism that he should 'assume the episcopal character, ordain elders, consecrate a bishop, and send him to ordain lay preachers,' in such pungent terms: 'I firmly believe that I am a Scriptural *episcopos* as much as any man in England or in Europe.'

Yet at the same time he defends the distinctness in function between 'presbyter' and '*episcopos*.' 'I still believe the episcopal form of Church government to be scriptural and apostolical—I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the Apostles. But that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's *Irenicon*.' Canon Overton marvels that two books written by 'mere boys'—King wrote his treatise when he was twenty-one and Stillingfleet his when he was twenty-four—should have exercised so powerful an influence over Wesley's mind.<sup>1</sup> But in a period when Pitt was prime minister at twenty-four the fresh convictions of youth may not, perhaps, be regarded as less authoritative than the stale conventions of age. In any case the historical researches and judgements of modern ecclesiastical scholars, like Lightfoot, Headlam, Lindsay and others, have sustained the main positions on apostolical succession that Wesley took over from King and Stillingfleet. That is one of the gains of the century and a half since the Bristol ordinations. At the same time their schismatic audacity has been more fiercely denounced by leaders of the 'Catholic' type during the last century than even Charles Wesley could have foreseen.

Probably more moderate critics, less concerned to maintain the sacerdotal implications of ordination, find arrest in Wesley's attempt to base a separable episcopal order of the ministry upon the authority of a presbyterian succession. Granted this authority, the ordination of 'deacons' and 'elders' presents a simple case of transmission. Wesley gave what he had received and what he believed that as a presbyter he had the power to transmit. Here we are dependent upon one of the participants in the Bristol ordination for the clearest record of the definitely presbyterian character of Wesley's procedure. Whatcoat's *Journal* for September 1, 1784 reads: 'Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke,

<sup>1</sup> cf. *John Wesley* (1905) p. 197.

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and James Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England, formed a presbytery and ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey deacons; and the next day by the same hands they were ordained elders.' This is plainly presbyterian ordination. With his fellow presbyters Wesley 'formed a presbytery.' This, therefore, was the ordaining body. But Wesley was dissatisfied with this order. Frequently he asserted his intense dislike of 'Presbyterianism.' He was devotedly attached to 'episcopacy.' This was 'scriptural' and 'apostolic.' Hence he goes further than any Presbyterian would wish or dare to go. He set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands of the presbytery Thomas Coke, D.C.L. as 'superintendent.' Whilst studiously avoiding the terms 'presbyter,' 'bishop' and 'ordain,' it is obvious that such offices and acts were implied. But why should he lay hands upon Coke, who, being a presbyter like himself, was also on Wesley's theory of episcopacy already like himself a true *episcopos*? This constitutes a situation which Wesley's ordinations created that seems both inconsistent and confused. Its significance is still a matter of controversy.

Historically the same problem is interesting. For there are a number of instances in the history of the Church of ordination by other than bishops. There is evidence, for instance, that the Bishops of Alexandria had at one time been ordained or consecrated for the space of two hundred years by their fellow presbyters. But at the moment in Methodism the domestic problem raised is more important and pressing than the historical.

What did Wesley intend to be the outcome and permanent significance of these ordinations for the Methodist Societies? Was the immediate issue of his determined act and deed in the organization of the Methodists of America into an Episcopal Church actually in his mind? And more important still, would the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church with its three-fold ordination of the ministry as deacons, presbyters, and bishops have been his ideal and

purpose on this side of the Atlantic, had he been freed from his loyalty to the Church of England and its ecclesiastical restraints? Such a development is what his brother Charles charged him with planning.

Any attempt to find even an approximate answer to these questions must take note of the influence exercised by Dr. Coke upon Wesley's decision to ordain. A century and a half has made an estimate of this influence easier and more reliable. Coke's prominent place in the perspective of later events is now more closely defined. It is clear that Coke's was the strongest personal influence to which Wesley's mind and executive activities responded during the seven years before and the seven years after the ordinations. Wesley was seventy-four years of age when Coke, who was then thirty, having been dismissed from his curacy, cast in his lot with Wesley, who was then at his wits' end to secure a regularly ordained clergyman to work with him. Full of zeal, energetic, efficient, loyal, Coke became at once Wesley's first lieutenant. For years he was second only to Wesley himself in the official administration of the Methodist Societies. He visited Ireland alternately with Wesley, having equal power. At headquarters, he was one of the three clerical incumbents at City Road. He was the father of Foreign Missions and grudged no labour or hardship in that noble adventure. He was one of Wesley's executors and joint author of the first of the many lives of Wesley.

Autocratic in the ruling of his Societies, Wesley was nevertheless remarkably open-minded and singularly liable to be swayed by those in whom he had confidence, particularly when their suggestions appeared to relieve a difficult situation in carrying forward the work of God. Coke had already, a few months before the ordinations, drafted the Deed of Declaration in which Wesley gave a legal constitution to his Conference. Here, however, it must be confessed he had stuck stubbornly to a vital alteration in the draft against Coke's judgement. This important record of the assertion

of Wesley's will as against Coke's almost immediately before the ordinations should be taken into account in judging of the assertions freely made by competent writers on Methodist history and polity that Wesley would never have set Coke apart as 'superintendent,' if Coke had not almost literally forced him with affectionate but steadfast pressure to do it. The evidence that this pressure was exercised is, however, almost as much circumstantial as direct and documentary. Coke's Celtic temperament, his strong preferences for episcopal government, and his known ambition to be a bishop are clear. They suggest a cumulative tendency in presence of the impasse, created by the critical position of the American Methodists—some fifteen thousand of them left entirely without sacramental ordinances—to use a providential opportunity for a daring and promising ecclesiastical experiment. Coke was sensitively aware of Wesley's strong preferences for episcopacy, although his own belief, that power of ordination was possessed by presbyters, was derived directly from Wesley's influence. He might therefore, with reason have inferred that he was not outrunning Wesley's writ by translating 'superintendent' into 'bishop,' when he reached America. That such a reading of it suggested hopes of the restoration of American Methodists to the English Church is clear from the confidential letter he addressed to Dr. White, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania, a few years later. This letter made overtures for such a re-union on condition that Coke himself should be ordained to be bishop of the Methodists. Again, in 1794 Coke convoked a private meeting at Lichfield, of the most influential preachers in English Methodism, which passed a resolution that the Conference should appoint an order of bishops to ordain deacons and elders. Later still, shortly before his death, when his passion for Foreign Missions was at its climax, it is known that he offered to return into full communion with the Established Church on condition that the Government would appoint him the English bishop in India.

The extent to which these incidents in Coke's later career may reflect light upon Wesley's first ordinations may be exaggerated, but they ought not to be neglected in any attempt to relieve Wesley of the inconsistency of ordaining a co-equal presbyter to be a bishop—a procedure which one of his preachers was daring enough to describe at the time as 'neither episcopal nor presbyterian; but a mere hodge-podge of inconsistencies.'

Tyerman's conclusion—'Wesley meant the ceremony to be a mere formality to recommend his delegate to the favour of the Methodists in America; Coke, in his ambition, wished, and intended it to be considered as an ordination to a bishopric' may still be a matter of controversy, but of the issues of Wesley's act there can be no doubt. Lord Mansfield's judgement, 'ordination is separation,' has become history. The lapse of one hundred and fifty years has made this fact and its issues abundantly clear. Separation was what Wesley dreaded. He knew full well that if it was ever brought about, the ground of it would be the fundamental question of 'orders.' Nothing else was likely to bring about this crisis. In doctrine he was at one with his Church. With slight omissions, 'The Articles of Religion' were incorporated into the constitution he had prepared for the American Methodists. Forms of worship and sacramental offices were practically identical. 'I have prepared,' he writes to them, 'a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national Church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord, on every Lord's day.' Ordination was ultimately the one dividing line. But even here his subtle sympathies with ruling ecclesiastical ideas in Anglicanism persisted. He fully agreed that within the Church ministerial orders and authority depended upon some form of 'succession.'

In this succession sacramental validity was inherent, although validity ought not to be defined in sacerdotal terms. If a present day analogy may be used, this mysterious quality of 'succession' in Wesley's ecclesiastical order may be compared with the physicist's assumption of the presence of 'ether' in the order of the physical universe. The existence of both these as entities may be hypothetical, but they are regarded as necessary assumptions for the coherence of the respective systems they serve to explain. It was to retain this hypothesis of succession as efficient in the living organism that was growing to strength with newness of spiritual life under his control that Wesley struggled doggedly and against increasing odds for many years. His brother Charles kept him with stubborn determination to his impossible task. His conflict of loyalties was between a fixed resolve to maintain intact his own and his people's connexion with the order of the Established Church, and a divine constraint upon him to seek first the salvation of the multitudes untouched and unsought by the Church, and especially to secure the due administration of sacramental ordinances as essential means of grace and salvation for his people. This conflict was constantly recurring. It is almost pathetic to trace the efforts, at times indeed the shifts, he made to preserve the integrity of this dual obligation. His vain importunities to Bishop Lowth; his eager acceptance of the ecclesiastical status and good offices of the Greek bishop Erasmus, whose ordinations his brother Charles refused to recognize; his constant search for evangelical clergymen, mainly inferior in gifts and grace to his own preachers, whom he might put in charge of his chief chapels in order to secure continuity in sacramental ordinances. These and John Fletcher's rather grandiose scheme for 'the Methodist Church of England' served by Wesley's lay preachers ordained by him 'upon a Church of England independent plan,' with other laudable endeavours Wesley made to establish a union of evangelical clergy for mutual co-operation failed to meet the existing situation.

What the perspective of a century and a half makes sharp is that for this situation Wesley himself was responsible. For years he had disregarded the direct implications the ecclesiastical order he was now seeking to maintain involved. He had preached in dioceses whose bishops forbade him, and in parishes against the will of their clergy; he had celebrated holy communion in unlicensed meeting-houses, erected within parochial boundaries; he had appointed and supported unauthorized preachers; he had organized Conferences and constituted them courts of discipline under his sole control. And now, although he used his autocratic authority over his preachers and people against separation, he saw it approaching. He confessed 'a kind of separation has already taken place and will spread.' He prepared for the inevitable. By his Deed of Declaration in February 1784 he gave legal ecclesiastical status to his 'Conference' and provided security for the use of Methodist properties.

Within the same perspective we see that for a community so organized some regularized ministry had become inevitable. From the beginning Wesley had organized his societies upon a sacramental basis. He had educated them in the privileges of frequent communion. The rapid growth of the Societies deprived many of them of this privilege. In many parishes the clergy repelled their members from the Lord's table; in others the clergy were openly of such a dissolute character that conscience would not allow godly parishioners to receive the sacrament at their hands. Preachers and people became insistent that Wesley should make suitable provision for sacramental services in their own chapels. The alternative was the drift of his people into dissenting communions and the gradual break-up of his Societies. His own conscience would not permit him to allow his preachers to administer sacraments without due authorization. The only authorization he considered valid was ordination. The issue was vital. The organization he controlled had grown to strength by patient, skilful and courageous adaptation of ecclesiastical

means to spiritual ends. Such he believed to have been the method by which the organization of the primitive Christian Church had grown. Whatever may have been the subsidiary influences that affected his judgement, this was the master constraint that moved him to the momentous decision to ordain his preachers.

And it is this pragmatic sanction for Church organization that the history of Methodism during the last century and a half has justified. Judged solely by the canons of any purely ecclesiastical or historical tradition Methodist 'orders' must be found wanting. Wesley instinctively disliked irregularities, but being a man of action as well as a man of God, for the sake of the work of God he consistently practised them. The years may have left him exposed to the charge of inconsistency, but they have demonstrated his strategic skill. He had learnt from Stillingfleet's *Irenicon* that 'neither Christ nor His apostles prescribe any particular form of Church government.' This chastened, though it did not destroy his preferences for the episcopal form. It could no longer be for him of the *esse* of the ministry of the Church, though he still considered it might and ought to stand for the *bene esse* of the Church.

Any careful and candid review of Wesley's 'Ordinations' leaves us with the conviction that there were two ruling principles that governed his thought and action, and that these may account for his hesitations, delays and apparent inconsistencies. The first is the life-long and unshakable belief that the Church of England, at her best and purest, is incomparably the highest form of Church organization that has appeared in Christendom. The other is expressed in memorable words addressed to his ecclesiastical superior, the Bishop of London: 'Church or no Church, we must attend to the work of saving souls.'

These two convictions constitute the ecclesiastical heritage left to Methodism by its founder. How far his preachers and people in early Methodism shared these convictions

and acted upon them, and how far modern Methodism may or ought to accept them as ruling principles in presence of proposals for re-union at home or overseas are questions that require further and serious consideration.

Meanwhile it may be pointed out that the remarkable development and ecclesiastical consolidation of Methodism during the last one hundred and fifty years bear witness to the supreme constraint of the latter of these two principles to which the practical genius of Wesley surrendered. The efficient spiritual authority and ultimate validity of what may be termed the evangelical view of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments has prevailed wherever this view has come into conflict with the purely ecclesiastical tradition of historical succession. For some modern, as for early Methodists, the incidence of these two principles is still an antinomy. But for the majority this evangelical view, that the power of ordination resides in the living Church in fellowship with its living Head and is not dependent on any historical succession, episcopal or presbyterial, has won common consent.

FREDERIC PLATT.

## SOME CONSIDERATIONS RELATIVE TO CHRISTOLOGY

**T**HE attempts to think out the problems relating to the Person of Christ have resulted in no final solution, but usually in a restating of the problem in fresh concepts, philosophical and theological. The Church has been able to press into its service for its theological purposes, many different kinds of philosophical speculation and has provisionally gained from such temporary alliances. Idealism, Empiricism, Rationalism and Romanticism have each in turn laid their logical nets or revelled in some vague mystical approach, in order to resolve the mystery of Christ's Person. All these attempts have to confess failure. Some have felt the pain of doubt with such severity, and the arduous task of reasoning so strenuous, that they have given up the theological effort to resolve the problems related to Christ's Person, and have fallen back on a simple piety, saying it is enough to be loved by Him and to love Him. But the speculative impulse cannot be repressed even by the sweet comforts of communion with the Master, and the philosophical theologian must press on, whether he is able to succeed or not, in his quest to solve the problem of the God-man. Admittedly the wonder and massiveness, the intense spiritual reality of His Being, cannot be evaluated in terms of reason, but attempts will continue to be made to comprehend the Christ. Many philosophical attempts to explain the Person of Jesus Christ have had the result of simply blowing like strong breezes against the face of a mighty rock, and as the fashions of thought have altered with the passage of time, the Supreme Reality of His Person remains the stumbling block of the sceptic, the paradox of the metaphysician, the despair of evolutionists, the enigma of the historian, the puzzle of the psychologist, but the inspiration and challenge to the theologian. He is still apart from us yet so near,

akin and yet so distant, for He is the Mediator, the Creator, the Redeemer, the bridge thrown over from God to man.

The consideration of a few modern interpretations of Christ's Person will indicate that the problem is metaphysical rather than psychological, that is, concerned with Being rather than with consciousness, also it will become evident that the doctrine of the two natures, Divine and human, which arises out of a consideration of the teaching of the New Testament, is still the best statement of the problem of the Person of Christ, although clearly it is not a solution.

The tendency to-day is to move away from the Idealistic position of the Hegelian School, with its all-consuming Pantheism or 'panlogism,' as Pfleiderer calls it. There is fundamentally no difference between Hegel and Spinoza as far as Pantheism is concerned except in terminology, for it is clear that Spinoza's all-inclusive Substance has become in Hegel an all-inclusive Subject. The movement, however, from Hegelian idealism developed into an interpretation of the Person of Christ in terms of the mystical and aesthetic formulations of Romanticism. In this movement Christ is regarded as the noblest person who has ever lived, possessing the highest form of piety. The God-consciousness, of which Schleiermacher speaks, often with ambiguity as in other of his terms such as 'feeling' and 'the ideality of Christ,' was in Jesus Christ in its purest form. Because of this He should become the object of our desire, the central point which attracts all our admiration, devotion, loyalty and mystical love. He should be the end of human desire and action. But this view breaks down in several ways. If Jesus Christ was a human being only, or even a perfect human being only, all this would sound very plausible, for the modern man loves to feel his power and to assert it; and he would no doubt be able to say if this is what Christ means, then the ideal He reveals is possible for me and I will make a good effort to embody it. By the

genius of my own intellect, by all the capacities of emotion and will, I will rise to this ideal.

The liberal theology of the Harnack type gives hope along this line for the historical approach, and an overdose of 'synopticism' has made man almost forget the Divine Redeemer of John and Paul. If Christ is just one of us, though the best, He becomes the most delightful human leader, hero and friend. We can be almost too familiar with this representation of His Person and all the while overlook that which constitutes His essential self, His awe-inspiring Majesty and Deity. Not only so, but this reducing of the Christ to one of us, the best of us, a *primus inter pares*, although not suffering from all the defects of Idealism—which has never taken sin by the throat but looked at the monster as if only an illusory appearance, and also has never admitted plainly the distinction between God the transcendent and man His creature—has special difficulties of its own. If the difference between Jesus Christ and ourselves is simply one of the degree or intensity of God-consciousness, it would appear that as soon as our God-consciousness and dependence on God reach their maximum, as they did in Jesus, then we are equal to Him. But the real truth is that it is not the God-consciousness in Christ which makes Him what He is, but the fact that *He shares the Being of God*. We do not dispute that He possessed a God-consciousness at times, for we cannot ourselves, nor could He be conscious of God at all times, but He was God, He is much more than human. He is, when all is said, in another category than ourselves when His complete Person is taken into account. He is unique, separate, possessing the very nature of God, not participating only, but *possessing the actual essence of the Godhead*.

Jesus Christ is not the best amongst 'religious heroes,' as Schleiermacher would have us believe, nor is He simply the 'royal prophet' of Ritchie. He is much more. A prophet is an ambassador carrying the message of another, but Jesus

Christ is the Word. He is the Message itself. Person and Word in Him are one.<sup>1</sup> Therein lies His amazing difference from men, whether prophets, priests or heroes. We quite admit that as a reaction to Absolute Idealism of the Hegelian type, which exalted intellectual factors too highly and made religion a kind of second best, philosophy being higher, Schleiermacher accomplished a very useful piece of work with his new emphasis on feeling in religion. Mistaken as he was in limiting religion to feeling, and in the ambiguities attaching to this term, he has taken us nearer to the heart of Christianity than the rationalism of Hegel or the moralism of Kant. In this no doubt Schleiermacher was indebted partly to the Moravians. But where does this emotional emphasis lead us when thinking of the Person of Christ? This is where Schleiermacher utterly fails us and where his system excludes much that is taught concerning Christ in the New Testament. Schleiermacher is a Sabellian and described himself as such. In its widest connotation Sabellianism means the denial of the reality of revelation. It transmutes revelation into symbolism. The human Jesus is not denied but the Divine Christ is treated symbolically—that is, the symbol is enough to produce the God-consciousness, the feeling of dependence. It is not the true humanity of Jesus which is in peril in Schleiermacher's teaching, but His complete and true Deity. But God and Christ cannot be subjective ideas or symbolic representations of reality. They are real in themselves whether experienced by us or not. While we start from our experiences in religion, *what we experience is not created by being experienced, for God and Christ are real objective existents independent of us.* Human experience does not create reality, it is only a medium for its expression. The Absolute values exist independently of us. The Deity of Christ, the fact that He is Creator and Redeemer, or the whole cosmic and redemptive Christ of John and Paul has, by mysterious Kenotic theories or efforts

<sup>1</sup> See *The Mediator* by Emil Brünner on this point.

to pack Him into our human category, been largely ignored as too metaphysical for faith. But *it is this metaphysical Divine Being, the Son of God, who has been repudiated by the subjectivism of much modern theology, who is the very ground of our Redemption.* The charge of subjectivism however cannot be brought against Ritchl, as Dr. A. E. Garvie has made perfectly clear,<sup>1</sup> for religious values have intrinsic and not simply instrumental value.

When considering the attempt to evaluate Jesus Christ in the psychological terms of to-day, we find the continuation of the reductive process illustrated in Romanticism. Psychology is not only 'a nasty little science,' as William James himself affirmed, referring to the manifold problems which were associated with it, but being itself in such a fluid and contradictory state and at such an early stage in its development, any statement concerning its applicability to the Person of Christ can only be tentative. The speculation of Dr. Sanday that we may find the key to the Deity of Jesus Christ in His subconsciousness, is full of difficulty. In the first place, if the Divine nature dwelt in His subconsciousness could we call such a subconsciousness human at all? Where in this case was Christ's real human subconsciousness, for if He did not possess one, He was not perfectly human nor human at all, in the complete sense? Moreover, what influence has this Divine content of His subconsciousness over his conscious life? Did it obtrude itself into consciousness, although it had no human relation with His consciousness in the sense of having been in His conscious life, for it had never so been? How then did it arrive there? And why in His case only and not in other men? Further, how did Christ's conscious experiences becoming past and sinking into His subconsciousness, relate themselves to this Divine nature in His subconsciousness? The difficulty of this conjecture which says that the Deity of Christ resided in His subconscious life has been enormously increased by the

<sup>1</sup> See his *Ritchl and Ritchlianism*.

advances in the new psychology since Dr. Sanday's day. The unconscious looks anything but divine, rather it appears as a residence of fiends, so that if the Deity resided in the subconsciousness of Jesus Christ, what resided in his unconscious? The unconscious is more the home of demons than Deity if the statements of leading psycho-analysts are to be regarded as fact. This inaccessible element of the human personality, that is inaccessible by the exercise of memory and normal means of recall, and only capable of being tapped by hypnotism and 'free association' in our ordinary human personalities, bears, it would seem, little resemblance to Deity. Even if we call its dynamic content 'libido,' as with Jung, which he defines 'as a concept of unknown nature comparable to Bergson's "élan vital," an hypothetical energy of life which occupies itself not only in sexuality, but in various physiological and psychological manifestations, such as hunger, development, growth, and all the human activities and interests,' our problem is not simplified.

From this it appears that 'instinct and unconscious' are only concerned with human activities and interests, how then can we say that either the subconscious or the unconscious are the abode of Deity when apparently all human unconscious is anything but that which participates in the nature of Perfection and Deity? One might more easily restate the doctrine of original sin in terms of the unconscious, but hardly at present the Deity of Christ.

A further difficulty arises also in regard to the attempt to interpret Christ's Deity in terms of the sub-conscious. A good deal, if not all, the content of the sub-conscious, consists of experiences once in consciousness. We must ask, therefore, were those experiences of Jesus Christ present in His earthly consciousness human only? If so, how can there be a divine content to His subconscious? If, on the other hand, there were divine conscious experiences which entered into His subconscious, can a collection of divine conscious experiences be the same as Deity, seeing that they were

concerned with Christ's empirical self? Psychology, it must be remembered, is an empirical science and is incapable of dealing with metaphysic matters such as Being, Eternity, Deity.

The third way of approaching Christ's Person I wish to discuss is one which tentatively suggests the possibility of interpreting Him along the lines of Kant's formulation of the noumenal and empirical self. We have already seen how the psychological interpretation of the Person of Christ is defective, and in so far as Kant's over-individualistic psychology is a defect in his system, the psychological defects are increased in any interpretation based upon his metaphysic. It has not been made clear how if Christ's subconscious was divine ours is not, or how His whole human nature could reside in His conscious mind, nor how the conscious and subconscious in His Personality are related. The problem before us in interpreting the Person of Christ I contend is *metaphysical* rather than psychological. We cannot, as a matter of fact, find personality by indulging in psycho-analysis; for, as we have already said, psychology is an empirical science in all its branches, and cannot claim to take the place of metaphysics and theology. Can this distinction of Kant's be applied to Christ's Person in the sense that His Deity is His noumenal self and his humanity His empirical self? On Kant's argument we each have a noumenal self which expresses itself in space and time as a particular empirical self, the latter being determined and not free, the freedom lying solely in the noumenal self. If then we affirm that Christ's Divine Self was the noumenon which chooses to manifest itself as that particular empirical self, Jesus of Nazareth, we really go beyond what Kant would allow for the noumena are unknown. On strictly Kantian grounds then, we should know nothing of the Deity of Christ at all. Further, why is not our own noumenal self divine like Christ's? Were the acts of the empirical self of Christ determined solely by His Deity, His noumenal

self? If so, what kind of human responsibility did He possess, and are we to believe that His empirical self was mechanically determined?

If, on the other hand, it is said that His noumenal self revealed itself perfectly in His empirical self, while our noumenal self on account of sin and limitation does not, we must ask why should our noumenal self be so frustrated by negativity and sin, while His was always overcoming negativity and privation? Personality, whether perfect or imperfect, cannot be achieved without barriers to break through and obstinate questionings to be overcome; but it would be quite a different thing from Kant's dualism with its unknown thing in itself to say that the Deity of Christ broke through these barriers because residing in a human being, and so accomplishing the final defeat of evil on the Cross. The thing to keep clear on this attempted interpretation is that it makes Christ's Deity (His noumenon) unknowable if the Kantian metaphysic is to remain unmodified.

In conclusion, let me add that despite the enormous speculative difficulties attaching to our modern ways of approach to the mystery of Christ's Person, certain facts remain. He is Lord, Master, Son of God, Saviour, Redeemer, Creator and Friend, so unlike us yet so like us, so near and yet so far. In any attempt to ascertain Who He is we are compelled to start with a rational Theism. A true appreciation of God as transcendent and immanent is necessary if an incarnation is to be possible at all. The Deism of Dr. Tennant is inadequate as a basis for a doctrine of Christ's Person, nor does the Platonism of Dr. Inge give us any clue to the mystery of the Person of Christ, nor does the over-exaggerated Transcendence of God in Barth's teaching help us to resolve the problem. So we are where we were, two natures in One Person, perfect man and perfect God.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

## INDUSTRY, THE ARTIST AND THE PUBLIC

**I**N an age in which values are in a state of flux it seems a little presumptuous to emphasize one change as being of greater moment than another, particularly if such change does not lie within the main orbit of public interest, being concerned neither with politics nor sport. Nor can we be sure that any new direction of interest indicates a measure of progress in human affairs through which life shall become happier and more wholesome, or only a fresh deception leading up some blind alley from which our steps must be retraced with bitterness and recrimination. Yet to anyone who looks at the world of art and industry to-day there is a very significant change in their attitude to each other. In the nineteenth century art was very uneasy about industry, to-day industry is very uneasy about art. John Ruskin, William Morris, and their disciples regarded the manufacturers of their day as being in the main producers of brutal ugliness, cheerfully producing masses of cheap and nasty wares, indifferent to any motive but that of the dividends, defacing God's own countryside in their feverish pursuit of money, caring nothing that it made the world hideous so long as it made their bank deposits beautiful. Nor, as we look back, do we feel that William Morris was exaggerating when he wrote: 'Is money to be gathered? cut down the pleasant trees among the houses, pull down ancient and venerable buildings for the money that a few square of yards of London dirt will fetch; blacken rivers, hide the sun and poison the air with smoke and worse, and it's nobody's business to see to it or mend it. That is all that modern commerce, the counting house forgetful of the workshop, will do for us herein.'

To them the yawning gulf between the ugliness of industry and the beauty of life brought an anxiety for the future of art. They were filled with a grave fear that in such a world

art could not endure, that the decorative arts would perish and all that belongs to the imaginative life of mankind would decay. For them the death of one art would mean ultimately the death of all and Demos would reign supreme in a barren wilderness. It is true that there was always a faint, flickering hope in their hearts that mankind would not endure such a dismal world, that the eternal witness of Nature, with her changing pageantry of Spring and Autumn, her opulent Summer and her triumph over the impoverishment of Winter in the gay, intricate patterns of a bare landscape, would incite mankind to a revolt against a life devoid of beauty. But in their wildest moments of anticipation they did not dream that industry would one day become art-conscious and would discover that not merely does bad art militate against good commerce, but that ultimately without art there will be no commerce at all.

To-day there is unmistakable evidence that it is not the firm with the biggest capital or the most efficient machinery that attains the greatest prosperity, but the firm with the best artist. That is a *dénouement* the mid-Victorian manufacturers never contemplated. In his day artists were kept in their place, and if one knocked timorously at the great man's office door he was very promptly sent about his business. If the despised designer could learn that present-day manufacturers, instead of slamming the door upon art, were stampeding the studios of Chelsea and Bloomsbury to secure the latest thing in artists, he would probably rest in peace, feeling that the activities of the avenging angel are still to be feared. The Victorian manufacturer would probably conclude the world was as mad as the social theorizers of his day imagined it to be, and give the Almighty thanks that he retired from the struggle before any of these nonsensical notions gained currency. For industry had made the discovery—somewhat belatedly it is true—that good art is a primary selling factor, and design can no longer be regarded as even of secondary importance.

To-day, whether we like it or not, a thing sells less by the durability of its material than by its appearance and its fitness for purpose. 'Looks' it must have, and its attractiveness to the eye is a stronger selling factor than perhaps anything else. Originality of design, combined with a true functional character, will practically ensure the success of any household article whether destined for the kitchen or the drawing-room, and household products possessing these characteristics have no difficulty in presenting themselves to the public. Not merely through the shop windows but in exhibitions, magazines, the public is made aware of the progress in this direction. I do not know much of the financial aspects of journalism, but I should imagine some of the most successful ventures of recent years have been magazines dealing with homes and gardens, and their popularity is a tribute to the intense interest the public takes in literature devoted to the cult of the household deity.

So important has this tendency become that in the volume entitled *Design and the Future*, Mr. Geoffrey Holme has instituted an inquiry and has elicited from the heads of leading firms of both hemispheres, the place they accord to design. It is illuminating because of the light it throws upon the chaotic conditions obtaining in commerce to-day, and the undiluted Victorianism that still reigns supreme in many directions. In some cases the emphasis upon the importance of design in industry is so considerable that the chief designer is given the status of director. Conditions vary in each industry, but it is notable that in pottery and metal trades the most progressive firms give their chief designer the status of a director, and in others, where such a position is impracticable, he is given a position approximating in authority to that of works manager.

But whilst this is true of many progressive firms, over a large section of industry there has been a complete failure to make any adjustment to the changed temper of the time. Let me give two examples which recently came within my

experience. I was shown over a pottery works where new experimental kilns had been erected for high temperature glazes on stone ware. I asked rather casually who was designing for them and was told: 'Oh, we don't need a designer yet, we've plenty of the old patterns to go at.' Comment was superfluous except to say that they would probably have found business more profitable with a modern designer and antique kilns than vice versa. The other was in a textile printing firm. There they took a student from the local school of art at a negligible wage, put her into a pokey little room with little light and less air, with the dirt and smoke of a great city evident in every nook and corner, and set her to produce patterns for textile printing. Failing any original inspiration she might occupy her time copying a few French floral designs they had obtained. And they imagined they could keep their place in the world's commerce under conditions such as that. Even when the designer is absolutely essential to the industry, as in the printing and textile trades, he is too often under the rule of a manager who is ignorant either of design or art and will allow neither freedom nor initiative to the man whose ideas are more essential to the success of his firm than any other. Even from an enlightened industrialist like Lord Trent—probably one of the most progressive and generous employers in the country—you get the amazing statement: 'Probably the chief difficulties which prevent industry from getting the designers it needs arise from the perpetual conflict between art and applied art. There still persists a feeling that utilitarian art is a poor relation of art for art's sake, and this results from a dearth of designers with practical experience and the lack of any developed sense of design even amongst those who have had such experience.' Even Lord Trent might know that 'Art for Art's sake' has been kicked out of art schools these last twenty-five years, and so far from regarding utilitarian art as the poor relation, the average artist thinks of it as the rich uncle. Every art school of any repute has for long directed its most considerable

efforts towards utilitarian art and hitherto it has received very little encouragement from industry. It may be true that there is a lack of designers with practical experience, but in order to gain practical experience it is necessary to design and you cannot go on designing just for fun or you starve, and however desirable that may be for industrialists whose figures betray an extravagant prosperity, it is certainly poor fun for the artist who is too often conscious of its knock upon the studio door. There is no dearth of potential designers with a good sense of design, and it is for people like Lord Trent to see that they are given the opportunity of becoming designers with practical experience, not to starve them to death and then complain that they don't exist. But the real reason is much simpler and is stated with a succinct directness by Mr. J. L. Beddington, of the Shell Mex Oil Company: 'Industry is prevented from getting good design by not paying enough,' and Mr. Beddington's opinion is shared by others equally able to form a judgement. Industry is willing to pay well for a great many things. It will pay for dishonesty and roguery and sharp practice, as the records of the Stock Exchange show during the last few years; it will pay for its coal and iron and cotton; it will pay for sumptuous offices and opulent directors but not for art, that, like the gospel, must be without money and without price. However commodity prices may fluctuate you can count with considerable certainty that brains and intelligence will remain at the bottom of the list, for those are things it is so difficult to display in the balance sheet and use to create a sound impression upon the mind of the unfortunate investor.

From the point of view of art, however, the most sinister feature that emerges from this inquiry is that industry is only concerned with art as a producer of profits. It is welcomed as a selling factor, and this fact is quite plainly pointed out by several contributors. For them there is no feeling of shame that they are not concerned with beauty,

or the elevation of taste, but with dividends. The Art Editor of *Harpers Bazaar* wants 'sensible designs which will lead to more and better business,' whilst Mr. Radford wants 'new patterns which will find ready acceptance from the purchasing public.'

There is no nonsense about the head of the Tokyo School of Art whose reply seems somewhat reminiscent of the economics of the Manchester school of the last century: 'Industry wants from the designer designs which will increase the price and sale of the commodity.' The Americans' attitude is summarized in an incisive manner by Mr. F. E. Brill: 'In America industry wants design, counsel from the designers which will enable him to make more money through greater sales. Pride, social consciousness and the desire to serve mankind better, don't seem to enter the industrialist's head.' Mr. R. D. Best is even a little pathetic in his desire to be amongst those who are 'neither for Jehovah nor his enemies' when he says: 'Industry should want good designs, but as industry has to make a profit, a foundation of saleable designs may be required even though not good.' So that your foundation being a bit wobbly, it is not to be wondered that your building is a bit askew.

This is disconcerting enough, but it is even more so when we reflect that the industrialist is by no means an assured guide as to what the public wants. I doubt very much if he knows as well as the designer does, and some of his best engineered efforts have been decided 'flops.' In this he is no more fortunate than the theatre manager who doesn't always know a good play when he sees one, or the publishers' reader who makes a habit of refusing subsequent best sellers. If your first criterion of judgement is: 'Will it sell?' then your commercial magnate will find life is much more difficult than he imagined. Trying to balance yourself precariously upon a line stretched between two points as far apart as aesthetic excellence and popular approval is a performance which the most accomplished Blondin of commerce may

pardonably feel is beyond him. Nor is a verdict in the Halls of Justice and upon the hustings often achieved by the same oratorical methods.

It is not surprising then that the commercial magnate seems to have lost his bearings when it comes to a question of good design. Lord Trent again provides us with a perfect little gem when he tells us that 'the qualities which constitute good design do not constitute good commercial design.' Here it is the uninstructed public taste which is at fault, which wants the pretty pretty. 'The ordinary man's instinctive attitude towards the unfamiliar is to condemn it, therefore great care must be exercised in the choice of good design.' It would be interesting to know what then is good commercial design though one suspects that Lord Trent identifies it with design that gains popular approval, *omne populum pro magnifico*.

But is the public taste in the parlous state that people like Lord Trent imagine it to be? I do not know how often he descends from the rarer atmosphere of his recently acquired aristocratic position, but his comments are born of ignorance rather than knowledge, and in any case it is somewhat bad taste to pour ridicule on a public whose support for the last forty years has been the source of your wealth. But this view does not gain any general support, and the majority of contributors in this volume are inclined to the view that good design, provided it is not too revolutionary, will secure popular approval.

M. Serge Chermayeff expresses the real situation when he says: 'The masses in the industrial community possess no crystallized taste. Things are imposed on them.' It is hypocrisy which makes the purveyors shift the responsibility for the bad stuff on to the shoulders of a long-suffering public. No one who is familiar with what is offered to the general public for its consumption can doubt this. Many manufacturers simply give the public what is cheap and easy to produce and the buyer too often finds himself not in the

position of choosing between good and bad art but being compelled to buy an article which is badly designed simply because there is nothing good available, or if well designed and available, the price is prohibitive. If the manufacturer would take the trouble to discover something about the general level of public taste he would find that so far from moving in advance of it, he is a straggling camp follower lagging behind the community's progress in artistic knowledge and appreciation.

Here is the opportunity of the present exhibition at Burlington House. It will reveal how far the manufacturer has responded to the improved taste of the community, whether he is prepared to devote the same artistic probity for the things that are sold to the million of plain average men and women or whether art for him is still restricted to the patronage of the Park Lane dilettante.

ARTHUR B. BATEMAN.

# Notes and Discussions

## IMMANENCE AND TRANSCENDENCE

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE is a distinguished member of that group of Anglican theologians who seek to interpret the Christian Faith in terms of modern thought. His early essay in *Foundations* (1912) on 'The Divinity of Christ' (a volume reprinted four times within six months of publication) revealed the vigour of his thinking in the attempt to restate a central element in Christian belief. Many books have since come from his pen, of which *Mens Creatrix* (1917) and *Christus Veritas* (1924) are leading expositions. In the latter he expressed his belief that theologians had left the field of general inquiry too largely to non-theological philosophers, and that what was needed was a 'Christo-centric metaphysics.' In the present volume<sup>1</sup> we have his most considerable attempt to provide such a metaphysics; in so far, that is, as a discussion within the limits of Natural Theology makes it possible. By the provisions of the Gifford Trust any reliance upon a Divine Revelation accepted as such is excluded, but the content of any such belief may be freely considered. Saying that a descriptive sub-title for these Lectures was once in his mind, *A Study in Dialectical Realism*, Dr. Temple proceeds: 'I believe that the Dialectical Materialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin has so strong an appeal to the minds of many of our contemporaries, and has so strong a foundation in contemporary experience, that only a Dialectic more comprehensive in its range of apprehension and more thorough in its appreciation of the inter-play of factors in the real world, can overthrow it or seriously modify it as a guide to action.'

The book falls into two equal parts called respectively 'The Transcendence of the Immanent' and 'The Immanence of the Transcendent.' No more can be offered here than an indication of points of interest from the wealth of discussion this volume provides. The author definitely declines to let an abstraction be his starting-point. The Cartesian abstraction of cognition, leading in Kant who was in the same tradition to an abstract Will, is criticized as a *faux-pas*. Dr. Temple sees in the course of modern thought from A.D. 1500 to the present time a phase corresponding to 'antithesis' in terms of the Hegelian dialectic. The whole field of ancient and mediaeval thought is 'thesis' as united in the principle 'that in experience we are directly aware of real objects.' The critical scepticism of Descartes initiated the reaction which presumed ideas and not real objects to be that with which the mind is directly concerned. He believes the time to attempt

<sup>1</sup> *Nature, Man and God.* Being the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow, 1932-1933 and 1933-1934. By William Temple. Pp. xxxii. 530. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1934. 18s. net.)

the 'synthesis' has now arrived, and his own work is offered as part of that attempt. Accepting the picture of the world which science now offers, he states the dominating fact of the new situation to be that 'the world as apprehended is now something which antedates apprehension.' Thus we have the temporal priority of the real world which is apprehended by mind when it appears. Whitehead's dictum that 'consciousness presupposes experience and not experience consciousness' is repeated more than once. The concrete Personality is the starting-point. (This links up with a statement in the Preface: 'My own endeavour is rather to provide a coherent articulation of an experience which has found some measure of co-ordination through adherence to certain principles'.)

But a process which produces minds which appreciate value and in which purpose is the distinguishing character, cannot be explained if the appearance of mind is not also explained. No attempt to explain Mind by reference to Nature has succeeded. For a thoroughfare we must look the other way. 'The more completely we include Mind within Nature, the more inexplicable must Nature become except by reference to Mind' (p. 133); or again, 'The man of science is part of the world which he studies, and for our purposes the most important part. Let him by all means be self-forgetful when he studies stars or electrons; but let him not generalize about the moral character of the Universe or the Mind expressed in it on a basis which omits the only evidence relevant to that subject' (p. 281); or yet again, 'Whenever the subject of inquiry is traced to the action of intelligently purposive Mind, the inquiry is closed; Mind has recognized itself and is satisfied. To adopt the hypothesis that the process of Nature in all its range is to be accounted for by the intelligent purpose of Mind is Theism' (p. 257).

Whitehead is subjected to criticism in respect of his attempt to present God and the world as complete correlatives, for while 'each is explained by the other, the complex totality of God + World is not explained at all.' It is only explained by passing beyond the category of Organism to Personality, 'beyond the notion of inner unification by co-ordination of function to the notion of self-determination by reference to apprehended good' (pp. 260-1). This at once implies Personality as transcendent in relation to Process. Thus the argument of Part I, to which these comments are only signposts—an argument closely articulated, weightily supported and impressively presented—leads to the conclusion 'that the explanation of the world is to be sought in a Personal Reality, or to use the historic phrase, in a Living God' (p. 265).

In Part II the significance of this hypothesis is considered, 'in some sense covering the same ground in a reverse direction.' Penetrating and illuminating discussions of the notions of Immanence and Transcendence, of Revelation, of Authority and Experience, of the problem of Evil, of Divine Grace and Human Freedom, of Immortality, all occur in the course of the argument. In relation to a subject receiving considerable attention to-day, the meaning of History (e.g. in relation

to alleged Revelation—*vide* Mr. H. G. Wood's recent Hulsean Lectures), Dr. Temple reviews three current interpretations and then propounds a synthetic theory of his own. This leads on to an exposition of the Sacramental Universe, in which view there is hope of making politics and economics human, and faith and love effectual in the world. 'In the sacrament then the order of thought is spirit first and spirit last, with matter as the effectual expression or symbolic instrument of spirit. That is the formula which we suggest as an articulation of the essential relations of spirit and matter in the universe' (p. 492).

Dr. Temple's gift for crystallizing in a formula the result of discussion appears throughout these Lectures to the great advantage of the reader. The stimulating suggestions of a vigorous and disciplined mind working upon the problems of the modern world everywhere abound. A few random sentences may indicate their quality: 'It is . . . in this constant direction of attention rather than in the moment of action that freedom is found to be effectively present'; 'No ideal which a man purposes to himself will deliver him from the tyranny of self'; 'A principle is properly spoken of as immanent in the occasions or processes which conform to it. . . . A person is properly described as transcendent of his acts'; 'It may safely be said that one ground for the hope of Christianity that it may make good its claim to be the true faith lies in the fact that it is the most avowedly materialistic of all the great religions.'

Many subjects of direct interest to human welfare are treated here: fear as a moral motive, the nature of personal freedom, the doctrine of election, conversion, the meaning of salvation, spiritual pride, moral progress in relation to religion, pagan virtue and Divine grace, the conceptions of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory in relation to the character of God. These subjects and many others are handled in relation to a theistic philosophy which, starting with a realist view of the physical universe and discovering in this a basis for a spiritual interpretation of it, claims that only in a Personal Creator is the universe (including the thinker) intelligible. It is a monarchic and not a republican basis of reality. Frequently the failure to achieve any satisfactory (we do not say final) solution to many detached problems arises from the very discussion of them as detached. A discussion in the course of the exposition of the wider metaphysical inquiry supplies the necessary corrective. Thus Dr. Temple himself points out that ethics as a restricted science is occupied with problems which continually point across its own borders and are only soluble on the basis of a theistic philosophy of life.

If one of the effects of modern science has been to make it harder for the mind sensitive to the scientific view of the physical universe to believe in a Personal Creator who is also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is such attempts as the present to offer a theistic philosophy in which the Creator transcends the universe in which He is at the same time immanent—a philosophy that starts from the very universe revealed by Science—that will relieve the tension sufficiently to enable a view to be held of God and the world which

is consistent in its main outline, though many minor difficulties still wait to be removed. Archbishop Temple, with the equipment of both theologian and philosopher and with that wide experience derived from his deep commitment to share in the current affairs of a distraught world, has rendered distinguished service in this further contribution to Christian thought.

C. P. GROVES.

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### THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF PROFESSOR A. C. McGIFFERT

*Christianity as History and Faith* (Scribners Sons; 7s. 6d. net), is an interesting revelation of the religious convictions of the late Professor A. C. McGiffert who was for many years President of Union Theological Seminary and one of the foremost authorities in the United States on the history of Christianity. His *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* gave him a great international reputation, and this has been crowned in the last few years by his *History of Christian Thought*, of which, alas! only two volumes (Vol. I, *Early and Eastern*; Vol. II, *The West from Tertullian to Erasmus*) have been completed. The present work consists of Professor McGiffert's essays and addresses, and it has been compiled by his son. Part I is historical; it includes a valuable series of Lectures on Christianity Old and New. Unburdened by elaborate references and supplied with few footnotes, this section gives Professor McGiffert's ripe conclusions on Primitive Christianity, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Modernism. The Lecture on Catholicism is notably sympathetic, all the more so because the positions he describes were far from those which he himself held. The most interesting Lecture is that on Modernism; it is one of the best accounts of Modernism in existence, and perhaps this is because in it Professor McGiffert was describing ideas which lay very near to his mind and heart. The two main ideas on which he dwells are the desire of the Modernist to present religious faith in terms acceptable to the scientific man, and the need for finding God in social service and religious values in the present life.

The essays and addresses are arranged under the heading of 'A Contemporary Faith' in four sections: (a) Jesus; (b) God; (c) The Christian Life; (d) Social Implications. In these essays Professor McGiffert makes many challenging assertions. For example, he thinks that of all Christological theories the doctrine of the Kenosis 'is the most vicious,' and observes that the Christian God is not the God Jesus worshipped and served, but a God like Jesus. Communion with the living Christ as distinguished from God, he says, is not possible, while to interpret Christianity as a religion of forgiveness 'has done much to soften our moral fibre.' Again, he categorically asserts that there is no place for sacraments, in the traditional sense of that term, where the ethical conception of Christianity prevails.

With these and other outspoken opinions many of Professor McGiffert's readers will violently disagree, and perhaps he would have welcomed this, for the addresses, delivered to all kinds of audiences, were plainly meant to stimulate thought. Another aspect of his mind is, however, revealed in many utterances which show the strong religious faith he held. It is plain to see that the strength of that faith lay in his conviction of the Lordship of Christ who reveals the ideal life and gives us power to live the life. 'The pressure of His personality upon ours,' he says, 'is the source of power.' Religion, as he sees it, sets free unsuspected powers. 'It not only makes weak men strong, vile men pure, selfish men generous, timid men brave, but to the best and the biggest it opens opportunities of spiritual experience and of human service that challenge all that is biggest and best within them.' This is a virile book for readers who do not look for a reflection of their own thoughts, but are prepared both to disagree and to learn from one who held tenaciously and even passionately the truths in which he believed.

VINCENT TAYLOR.

### THE HOLINESS OF JESUS

THE great German theologian, Rudolf Otto, has made us familiar with the conception of the 'numinous' for that which is 'extra' in the meaning of 'holy' above and beyond the meaning of goodness. Towards the end of his book, *The Idea of the Holy*, he applies the conception to Jesus himself. Christianity imputes to Christ a supreme value, that 'of being in His own person holiness made manifest.' Otto criticizes Schleiermacher's doctrine because it does not attain to the thought of Christ as 'a Person in whose being, life, and mode of living we realize of ourselves by "intuition and feeling" the self-revealing power and presence of the Godhead.' There can be no worthier subject for the study of preacher and theologian to-day, than the attempt to attain to this thought of Christ, and on the foundation laid by Otto Mr. A. D. Martin has erected a singularly interesting edifice. His book, *The Holiness of Jesus* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.), has for its main thesis the contention that Jesus was holy, not merely in the vague modern sense in which we call good men holy, 'but in the transcendent Biblical use—of that in God which is both ethical and numinous.'

In an excellent introductory chapter on the Hebrew conception of holiness, Mr. Martin gives an attractive modern reading of the deliverance at the Red Sea, combining in one picture the numinous and the ethereal—'the God of world-energy intervening on behalf of an oppressed people.' Next, we have a chapter on the Synoptic Gospels, the sources on which the rest of the book is to draw. Mr. Martin begins with a sentence which governs much of this chapter, that 'there are critical difficulties in the Gospels that are largely the creation of difficult critics.' This is an over-simplification,

and if it be true, it does not carry us very far. Several pages are spent in the proof that in rejecting certain sayings of Jesus as not authentic, many Christian and Jewish scholars perpetrate false judgments through ignorance of human nature. Proof is easily forthcoming in Klausner and Frank Lenwood, Benjamin Bacon and Loisy. Are these names really representative of the patient, sober industry which has for decades been poured out on the New Testament? Elsewhere Mr. Martin gratefully acknowledges his debt to more representative students, to Streeter and C. H. Dodd, to Vincent Taylor and Manson, to E. F. Scott and George Foot Moore. But every one of these would assent with all his soul to Mr. Martin's presupposition that a certain spiritual temper of selflessness and humility is essential if we would understand the books of Faith. The real problem of our sources, as Professor C. H. Dodd has recently pointed out, is that we know so little of the course of the tradition between the years A.D. 30 and A.D. 65.

In his answer to modern criticisms directed against the character of Jesus, Mr. Martin has done a timely service to us all. Special attention may be called to his devout and sympathetic interpretation of the saying: *Why callest thou me good?* 'All the temper of human goodness,' says Mr. Martin, 'is self-negating. We are most like God when we are so filled with the consciousness of God that we must needs repudiate all comparison with Him.' But the whole exposition should be read.

In his treatment of the difficult question of the knowledge of our Lord, Mr. Martin lays stress on the poetic quality in His sayings, and explains the main problems by contending that Jesus spoke in Hebraic figures of speech which if literalized, are misunderstood. In His sovereign freedom Jesus used Apocalyptic thought-forms as a pictorial language, in which to express His deepest intuitions of God. So when Jesus spoke in the high priest's court of the *Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven*, He is speaking in a picture. Mr. Martin even dares to interpret the whole saying from the imagery of *the clouds*. 'This shows us that what He thought of was a progressive advent rather than a sudden happening. . . . That coming of clouds which Jesus visualized was something which would suggest to a Palestinian mind an inevitability of nature, a procession of forces which no man could possibly withstand or arrest.'

Not every New Testament student will agree with all the interpretations in this stimulating book. The chapters on 'The Conduct and Judgements of Jesus,' 'The Inner Life of Jesus,' 'Significant Sayings of Jesus,' are full of unusual suggestions which may help the reader even when he disagrees. Thus it seems unwarrantable to say that 'the parable of the two debtors in Luke vii, as applied by Jesus to the harlot and to Simon, rests upon this amazing assumption —the sins both of the woman and of Simon had been sins against Himself.' We may note that Mr. Martin's own interpretation rests on the traditional assumption that the parables can be allegorized,

and that Jesus intended us to recognize that the creditor means Himself, and that the two debtors can be identified with Simon and the harlot. But this whole method has been in the last fifty years subjected to a fusillade from which it has never really recovered. Nothing would more repay any preacher than a prolonged study of the parables of our Lord in the light of the best books written under the stimulus of Jülicher. There is almost inexhaustible treasure here for our congregations, and in spite of the exaggerations of his pioneer work, Jülicher has provided exegesis with the key.

The chapter on 'The Self-Sacrifice of Jesus' is most rewarding. Gethsemane and the cry of dereliction reveal the tension of the two loves—sonship to God, brotherhood to man. This theme is worked out powerfully, and prepares the way for the final chapters on 'The Holiness of Jesus' and 'The Gift.' 'Holiness is a term which expresses the coalescence of a perfectly good mind with a fully energetic will, the coincidence of the Ideal and the Real in continuous activity.' Mr. Martin begins with a study of the sinlessness of Christ, but sees the inadequacy of the term. He supplements it by an appeal to the fruitful generalization of St. Thomas Aquinas—'The last perfection to supervene upon a thing, is its becoming the cause of other things.' The activity of Jesus reveals a divine creativeness. He *was* Life. Mr. Martin ends with a double appeal; first to Churchmen, to suggest as the foundation of a common confession of faith an idea which involves the reality of God in Jesus; and second, to the modern man, to recognize in Jesus a climax in the history of our race. We may doubt whether the apostolic phrase suggested as a foundation for a future creed—*Thy holy servant Jesus*—is adequate, inasmuch as the very adjective used in the Greek is speedily appropriated by St. Paul to describe the converts at Corinth, and Mr. Martin is anxious to have some phrase which affirms positively the sinlessness, entire goodness, and Divine power of Jesus. But the book concludes with the disarming and most joyful admission that a Christian cannot be impartial. The author began his book with the attempt to be impartial, but faith and love would keep breaking in! So we are left where we would always abide, with the adoring cries of St. Paul, *For me to live is Christ. I live and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me.* 'This indeed is the very crown of the Holiness of Jesus, that the Eternal Spirit was able to take up His whole being into the Godhead, and thereafter so radiate Him into us who worship Him that we grow into His likeness.'

R. NEWTON FLEW.

#### 'GOD AND THE ASTRONOMERS'

*God and the Astronomers*<sup>1</sup> which discusses the philosophical and religious implications of the final dissolution of the universe, embodies Dean Inge's most mature convictions on the central doctrines of theology.

<sup>1</sup> Cheap Edition, Longmans Green, 5/-.

Here are two extracts : 'My conclusion is that the fate of the material universe is not a vital question for religion. In philosophy it does matter, because if entropy is true, some philosophies are in ruins.'

'As for philosophy, I ask my readers to consider whether the following words of Bosanquet are not true : "In so far as the religious consciousness or its climax comes to include the vision of all that has value, united in a type of perfection, philosophy is little more than the theoretical interpretation of it."

'If we are asked why God made the earth, sun and stars, it is best to say simply that we do not know. Disinterested curiosity is a noble passion, but Nature has not seen fit to gratify it. We have enough light to walk by and not much more,' says the Dean in reply to the suggestion of Jeans and Eddington, that life as we know it is the result of a pure accident which happened to the sun about two thousand million years ago after it had existed undisturbed for seven or eight billion years.

Eddington says—and calls it the most certain truth of science—that the whole universe is steadily and irrevocably running down like a clock. The inevitable end, says Jeans, is annihilation of life, of consciousness, of memory, even of the elements of matter itself.

That sounds final until we associate it with what Sir James Jeans, in his Presidential address to the British Association recently said : 'When we view ourselves in space and time we are quite obviously distinct individuals; when we pass beyond space and time we may perhaps form ingredients of a continuous stream of life.' Can annihilation operate beyond space and time? Again, Sir James said : 'The new physics obviously carries many philosophical implications, but these are not easy to describe in words. They cannot be summed up in the crisp snappy sentences beloved of scientific journalism such as that materialism is dead or that matter is no more.'

Are the structures which our scientists are erecting quite as permanent as they may appear? I was taught that the atom was indivisible and indestructible; then, a few years later, all matter had been reduced to protons and electrons and out of these two fundamental entities the whole material world was compacted. Now this scheme has tumbled down and the talk is of negative and positive protons, of neutrons, diplons, neutrinos and anti-neutrinos.

Quite recently a new series of radio-active elements has been discussed with hitherto unheard of cosmic rays. Time and space have ceased to have independent significance : the æther has been discarded as a parable that has lost its meaning : materialism and matter have ceased to exist, or have to be redefined in terms of mathematical abstractions, and the wave picture becomes the most correct statement that the human mind has yet made on physics.

In his sermon to the British Association last September, Sir G. Adam Smith said : 'Nothing has been more striking in recent years than the growing dissatisfaction of physicists and mathematicians with merely material conceptions of the world and man. It was they

who among all men of science to-day might be regarded as the most powerful authors of the convergence of science upon religious explanation of the universe and upon the probability of a personal Creator.'

Dean Inge brings his wealth of learning, his profound research, his courage and brilliant scholarship to help us to place God.

The question of a dying world is not new. 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning has laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thine hands. They shall perish but Thou remainest; and they shall wax old as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up and they shall be changed.' These people were not dismayed at the thought of a dying world and they did not consider God to be involved in the fate of His creatures.

Dean Inge says: 'Even if the whole of the world-order that we know must submit to the universal doom and pass out of existence, that only means that our world-order is after all only one of the purposes of God, which, like all purposes which are not frustrate, has its proper beginning, middle, and end. In that case there may be, and probably are, other world-orders of which we know nothing.'

This idea was voiced by Alice Meynell in *Christ in the Universe*.

Nor in our little day  
May His devices with the heavens be guessed.  
His pilgrimage to thread the Milky Way  
Or His bestowals there be manifest.  
But in the eternities  
Doubtless we shall compare together, hear  
A million alien gospels, in what guise  
He told the Pleiades, the Lyre, the Bear.

Dean Inge regards his book as 'an attempt to face the view of the process of world-history as seen by our physicists and astronomers, and with the help of this world-view to expose what seem to me the inconsistencies in what I have decided to call the *modernist philosophy*.' It is a challenge to the loose thinking which is so prevalent to-day.

The lectures comprise *The New Götterdämmerung*, *The Problem of Time*, *God in History*, *The World of Values*, *God and the World*, and *The Eternal World*.

Of these perhaps *The World of Values* is the most engrossing and there is a large amount of agreement between its conclusions and those reached by the Archbishop of York in this year's Gifford Lecture, *The Commonwealth of Value*.

To state and defend the proper attitude of a thoughtful Christian to take up towards the world of space and time, of change and flux, of birth and death, that is the book's aim; and it is not only of real service as a guide in what Dr. Temple has called the 'bewilderment of our epoch' but it compels the exercise of very serious thinking.

A LAYMAN.

### RECENT FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

THE first book to be mentioned may at first sight seem out of place in this chronicle for it is written in English. But inasmuch as it is published only in America, and must be ordered directly from New York, it has received but the slightest notice on this side of the Atlantic. *The Gospel of the Hellenists* (Henry Holt & Co., New York, \$4.00) is a posthumous gift of Professor B. W. Bacon to strenuous students of New Testament problems. The work was left unfinished, for though the author's preface is complete, the editor's preface tells us that there was to have been a chapter on 'The Sacraments in John.' He also informs us that the manuscript showed many signs of imperfect revision. Professor C. H. Kraeling is to be congratulated upon the skill with which he has removed many of the 'repetitions, obscurities, and even contradictions due to changes in the author's thought.' But he would have done his readers a still greater service if he had provided an index, both of Scripture reference and of names and subjects. Twenty years earlier Dr. Bacon published a big book, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*. It was the most Teutonic book on this Gospel that has ever been written in English. Many of the positions are still maintained in the new book, but in one direction a radical change was demanded by the progress of research. It is no longer possible to ignore the mass of evidence that has accumulated to prove the Semitic and Palestinian background of this Gospel, even when fullest acknowledgement is made of the Ephesian *milieu* in which the Gospel was published to the world. The most novel contribution offered in this book to the solution of the Johannine problem is the cardinal importance given to Samaria. Aenon, near to Salim, was one of the scenes of the Baptist's ministry. Simon Magus came into touch with the first missionary activity of the Christian Hellenists. He is identified with Simon of Gitta, whose followers by the time of Justin Martyr were very numerous in the province of Samaria. Dr. Bacon postulated a form of Samaritan Gnosticism, in which were blended elements from Essenism, from the sacramentalism of the sect of John the Baptist, and from the ancient prophetism of northern Syria. There were thus in this region various incarnation doctrines against which the Hellenistic evangelists, such as Philip, would be compelled to define their own conception of an incarnate Son of Man. 'John wrote his Gospel, as the fathers clearly saw, to refute the Gnostic Hellenizers, of whom the Samaritan school were the worst and the most dangerous.' It is assumed that this heresy spread very early to the cities of pro-consular Asia, and that the Hellenists, scattered abroad from Jerusalem, also established a Christian mission in Ephesus long before Paul arrived there. Indeed, it is argued that this explains Paul's inhibition when on his way to Ephesus early in the second missionary journey. It is impossible to give even an outline of Dr. Bacon's views regarding the

structure and redaction of the Gospel. Some of his ideas are already known from his earlier book on this Gospel. There was probably never a more ingenious theorizer than this learned and charming scholar. But a fancied connexion between two things immediately becomes a well-established relationship. A faint possibility is triumphantly hailed as something so universally accepted that 'detailed proof is fortunately no longer required.' Speculative originality is only equalled by critical credulity. It is certain that if Dr. Bacon's account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel and its treatment at the hands of its editor were correct, the unravelling of this infinitely complex problem by Dr. Bacon would be a more stupendous miracle than any recorded by the Evangelist. For all that, the advanced student will find very much in this fascinating book to stimulate his interest, and to force him to reconsider many of his previous judgements.

If the late Professor Bacon turns our thoughts into a fresh reconstruction of the history of primitive Christianity, by suggesting the importance of some neglected or dimly seen factors at work in those early days, we shall do well to inquire what has been done in the last generation to map out that field of historical investigation. Here we are very greatly helped by a survey which Professor Windisch has written in last year's *Theologische Rundschau* (vol. v., 1933, pp. 186-200, 239-258, 289-301, 319-334), in which under the heading Primitive Christianity he covers most of the historical problems which beset the student of the New Testament. The questions that arise are (1) What actual part has Jesus Himself in the origin and shaping of Primitive Christianity, and what part the Baptist before Him? (2) What are the chief types and what are the *Leitmotive* of Primitive Christianity? (3) What are its relations typologically and genetically to the various streams of contemporary Judaism? (4) To what extent was it influenced by Hellenism, or by Graeco-oriental Syncretism? In answering the first question a brief survey is offered of the contributions made by the histories of Wernle, Pfleiderer, J. Weiss, E. Meyer, K. Lake, and two books which were mentioned in this chronicle last year, by Lietzmann and Lohmeyer. This is followed up with an examination of the problem in detail. The Baptist's relation to Jesus and to Christianity leads on to a consideration of the place of the Church and of the Spirit in the teaching of Jesus. In both matters Windisch favours a more positive answer than is often given by German scholars.

Once again attention is being turned to the party conflicts of the Early Church. The Tübingen theory has been generally rejected on the ground that the opposition was not between Peter and Paul, but between Paul and the extreme conservative party of Jerusalem. But lately some curious theories have been advanced about the position of Peter in that controversy. Lietzmann regards James as the centre of the Jewish-Christian propaganda, and Peter as its leader on the mission field, and goes so far as to postulate a visit of Peter's to Corinth after Paul's, and one to Rome before Paul arrived there. The Epistle

to the Romans is regarded as a defence against his action. Hirsch modifies this theory by suggesting that Peter did not visit Corinth as a Judaist, but carried the so-called Apostles' decree with him there, which recognized the full status of Gentile Christians, whilst he denied the independent apostleship of Paul and his teaching that Christ is the end of the Law. Windisch thinks that if these theories were sound we should have clearer traces of such apostolic opposition to Paul in Romans and Corinthians. There is still room for considerable discussion about the exact position of James. But perhaps the most interesting suggestion is that made by K. Holl about Paul and the Judaists. He thinks that the mother Church at Jerusalem made strong claims to ecclesiastical supremacy. Paul recognized this to some extent, but worked out a new doctrine of the Church which clashed with the ecclesiology of Jerusalem.

In recent years increasing importance has been allowed to the Hellenistic groups in Primitive Christianity, especially as their influence made itself felt at Antioch. Heitmüller and Bousset made this the creative element in early Christology, which introduced the alien conception of the Lordship of Jesus, where Messiahship had held the field before. But we are reminded that Hellenistic Christianity is not of one kind only. There were Hellenistic Jewish synagogues in Jerusalem, and there were Hellenistic Churches abroad which may have been more open to the influences of the prevailing mystery cults. R. Schütz has attempted to find a distinction in both Synoptic Gospels and Acts between sources where the term 'Disciples' is used and those in which the term 'Apostles' is found. He thinks that where the former term is used we have a trace of the stream of early Christian life which originated in the Galilean ministry of Jesus, with its greater freedom from the legalism of Jerusalem, and then passed over into the Hellenistic movement. After Easter, the first Church appeared in Galilee, and its faith was subject to the two-fold influence of the Hellenistic Judaism of the Dispersion and the Jewish Christianity of Palestine. This syncretistic faith it was which made its decisive impression on the mind of Paul. However unsatisfactory this theory may be, it at least calls our attention to the problem of the apparent unfruitfulness of the Galilean ministry in contributing to the life of the Early Church. The next consideration must be the part which Gnosticism played in shaping Christian doctrine. F. C. Bauer regarded the menace of Gnosticism as one of the determining factors which brought together in one defensive front of the Catholic Church the once contrasted types of Petrinism and Paulinism. His pupil Pfleiderer found a place for Gnosticism in some of the latest writings in the New Testament. It is now generally recognized that Gnostic ways of thought were amongst the tendencies combated by Paul in some of his letters. W. Lütgert finds evidence not only in Corinthians, but also in Romans and Galatians, of a party of libertine, antinomian fanatics, who misunderstood Paul's teaching and prepared the way for the later developments of a Gentile-Christian Gnosticism.

In this connexion we should mention J. H. Ropes' pamphlet of five years ago, *The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians*. It will be remembered that this scholar worked out Lütgert's theory in a way of his own, trying to prove that Paul's real opponents in Galatia were not Judaists but radicals, who claimed an inspiration which absolved them from the morality that was bound up with the religion of Judaism. This theory has little to commend it, but the question is often raised whether the spread of some errors in the Pauline Churches may be due in some part to a certain kinship which Paul himself had with some Gnostic ways of thought. This theory is specially associated with the name of Reitzenstein, who derives the 'pneumatic' element in Paul (his apostolic freedom and authority and his sacramental mysticism) from his contact with the Hellenistic mysteries. But Reitzenstein went much further, and found an Iranian-Mandaean myth of the 'Urmensch,' which has given rise not only to the Christ-drama of Paul and John, but also to the sayings of Jesus about the Son of Man in describing His self-consciousness and His sense of mission from God. The final instalment of this remarkably fascinating survey by Windisch considers the *Leitmotive* of primitive Christian preaching. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, in a lecture which some of us heard in this country three or four years ago, described the teaching of the Early Church under the headings, 'Christology,' 'Ecclesiology' and 'Soteriology,' and found the unity underlying this three-fold teaching in the history of God's dealings with the men whom He has created, whom He judges and upon whom He shows mercy. There is the call of God to His People, His Church, and the human answer, which is reckoned in accordance with the answer given to the Church. Windisch finds in these three words titles which can be subsumed under the one title 'Eschatology.' Perhaps his most helpful suggestion is one borrowed from C. Fabricius, who expounds the two Aramaic confessions which preserve the faith of the primitive Church. *Abba* stands for the filial relationship to God learnt from Jesus Himself. *Maranatha* stands for the confident hope in the coming of God to earth. The one petition stands for the faith in Him who comes and brings full salvation to the Church. The other stands for that fellowship with the Father, who in the Gospel of the Lord has given a new revelation of His will. How closely related are the eschatology and the ethics of the New Testament! The true Gnosis and the true Mysticism meet here. 'On these two primitive confessions actually hangs the entire Christianity of the first age; in these two Aramaic survivals ring out all the essential principles of the Gospel, and of the New Testament.' Those who deeply regret the removal of Karl Ludwig Schmidt from his chair at Bonn University (a victim of Nazi tyranny) will be all the more eager to read a fine article by him, 'The Witness to Christ of the Synoptic Gospels,' which appeared in *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, (Basel, December 14 and 28, 1933).

Attention has been called in this chronicle from time to time to the useful series, *Neutestamentliche Forschungen*, edited by Otto Schmitz,

and published by Bertelsmann (Gütersloh). Some of the best have been by Professor W. Michaelis of Bern. He has contributed another this year with the title, *Die Datierung des Philipperbriefes*, in which he takes the view already represented in his earlier pamphlets, and represented amongst British writers by Professor J. H. Michael and Professor G. S. Duncan, that Philippians must be dated from Ephesus during Paul's third missionary journey. Dr. Michaelis mentions a point which he has developed in an earlier writing, that if most of Paul's letters belong to the same period (the third missionary journey) this will have important consequences in our treatment of Paulinism. We should then have to start any expositions of his theology from the presupposition of the unity of his world of thought. We should also have to approach the question of the authenticity of the Pastorals from a new starting-point.

*Formgeschichte* is a subject to which reference has been made constantly in this annual survey, even from a time when very little was written upon it in this country. An interesting contribution has just come from the pen of Otto Perels in the series edited by Gerhard Kittel and published by Kohlhammer of Stuttgart and Berlin, under the general title, 'Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament.' *Die Wunderüberlieferung der Synoptiker in ihrem Verhältnis zur Wortüberlieferung* (R.M. 6) falls into three parts. The first deals with the interaction of word and miracle; the second with the juxtaposition of word and miracle; the third with the history of the tradition of the miracle stories before they assumed shape in the Synoptic Gospels. Those who have studied the works of Dibelius, K. L. Schmidt, Bultmann, and the rest, or have become acquainted with their theories through Dr. Easton or Dr. Vincent Taylor, will find interest in pursuing the method further with the miracle stories as the subject of inquiry. Perels is inclined to accept the miracle as historical if it is closely associated with a dialogue or if it culminates in some ethical or religious precept. This kind of 'pregnant-dialogue' miracle story corresponds to Bultmann's 'Apophthegma' or Taylor's 'Pronouncement-story.' An interesting feature of the book is the comparison of the Synoptic miracle stories with those found in Rabbinical sources, in Hellenistic literature, in the apocryphal Gospels, as well as those found in John and Acts. Perels suspects those Synoptic stories which more closely resemble Hellenistic types. *Die Johannesbriefe*, by Dr. F. Büchsel, Professor at Rostock, is the first part which we have seen of the new *Theologischer Handkommentar zum N.T.*, published by Deichert of Leipzig. It represents a more conservative standpoint than Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N.T.*, though the size of the page, and of each part, will pretty closely correspond to that well-known series. There is a clear introduction, then come in parallel columns the Greek text of each section and a paraphrase, followed by explanatory notes and an excursus from time to time. It is the very book to put into the hand of a Greek Testament student who wishes to get into the way of reading a German commentary.

A book of great importance to the student of Hellenistic Greek has now been completed. Mayser's *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* began with a volume on Laut- und Wortlehre which Teubner brought out in 1906. Under De Gruyter of Leipzig the second volume, Satzlehre, has come out in three parts, one in 1926, and the second and third in huge and expensive instalments this year. The importance for New Testament Syntax will be obvious. The period covered by these papyri is of course the three centuries B.C.

W. F. HOWARD.

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### 'FORCE.'

Is the use of force ever expedient? Is it ever morally justifiable? Is what is morally unjustifiable ever expedient on a long view? Does the end *sometimes* justify the means? Questions such as these spring up bewilderingly when talk or thought turns about building what in *Force*, (Ernest Benn, Ltd. 21s.) Lord Davies calls 'The New Commonwealth of Justice and Peace.' To some, the use of force is already a frustration of the ideal envisaged. To others an indisposition to use force as a permissible sanction only reduces the ideal to a sentimental fantasy. The trouble is lovers of the ideal are in both camps. The cause of Peace, like the cause of Temperance, is in some danger from its friends. 'Force' needs defining. We talk of the 'force' of an argument or the 'force' of a good example. There is 'force' in both. But it is not 'force' like that used to restrain or constrain a dangerous criminal or an evader of the income tax authorities. The one is purely persuasion. The other is, or may be, entirely coercion. That such coercion is legitimate within the framework of the State is doubted or denied by very few. It may be conceded as unideal, but it is not therefore repudiated as morally wrong. It is the schoolmaster of the law bringing us up to the freedom of responsible and public-minded citizens.

But carrying this principle forward into international affairs may have consequences in practice which wound the consciences of some. Coercion, even at the instance of an international tribunal and in the interests of justice and peace, may involve actions and scenes indistinguishable from the incidents of battle between the craziest of nationalists, waging a wholly immoral war. But distaste of such things is one thing; condemnation of them as immoral is another. The action of an international police force may involve *warlike* measures and movements. But it is not war. It is the unideal solution of a problem susceptible of settlement along other lines, given public spirit, conscience and understanding. Unideal but yet both expedient and moral. Impatience with what is unideal is human, but not always sensible. Journeys undertaken in this world have to be started from where we are. Even within the most highly civilized communities coercive force is retained as an ultimate sanction. It is unlikely

that in a world where so many cross-purposes are pursued, and so many recalcitrant elements are present, coercive force will be ruled out as either inexpedient or wrong for many years yet. That coercive force can be ruled out as immoral Lord Davies will not allow. I agree with him. This does not dispense any man from the duty of labouring to create that order wherein love and fine-thinking will animate everyone and fashion everything. Coercive force used in the interests of fullest and justest community, *and in those interests alone*, may very well be the next stage of our common progress towards that goal. It certainly would be an immeasurable advance on that brutal frame of mind, all too common to-day, that knows no other law but its own might, and aims at no ideal other than its own unchallenged dominance. It is along lines of thought such as these that one is turned aside from full identification with those who take vows never to participate in any future war. The world to-day is the world of the League of Nations. If any single nation—one's own or any other—wilfully ignores all post-war contractual obligations and enters upon aggression, it is pursuing a course that is at once illegal *and* immoral. I can very well declare beforehand that I should refuse to participate in such immoral aggression in any way whatsoever. Contractual obligations are not to be set aside so. But suppose one's own nation, as a constituent member of an international organization, is called upon to furnish its quota towards an international force raised solely and moving solely towards the enforcement of an unquestionably just and impartial judgement. What then? I am participant directly or indirectly in actions whose physical consequences are the physical consequences of actual warfare. What is it I object to? The dealing out of death simply? But refusal to recoil from that is not of itself immoral. Or is it to participation in actions—whether directly or indirectly—I hold to be utterly and clearly wrong? But that is the very judgement that is suspect, and so far, at least, cannot by many be accepted. Suppose after the fairest and fullest consideration Japan's action in Manchuria in 1931 had been condemned (as it was in fact) and condemnation had been followed up by physical action on the part of the League; would that action have been inexpedient simply or immoral or both? It is hard to resist the conviction that it would have been clearly moral *and* ultimately expedient also. To say that such convictions are base denials of Christ is not necessarily either good argument or obvious Christian charity.

JOHN E. STOREY.

# Recent Literature

## THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*Studies in the Psalter.* By N. H. Snaith, M.A. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Snaith is one of the ablest scholars in the Methodist Church, and will some day be recognized beyond its borders. His career at Oxford was marked by singular success in Old Testament studies, and among other achievements he won both the Kennicott Hebrew scholarships, a feat not often equalled. Since his undergraduate days he had been active in the meetings of the Society of Old Testament Studies, and has published articles in some of the learned journals. This is, so far as we know, his first book, and we rejoice that our own Publishing House has sponsored it. During the last two generations the problems of documentary analysis have been discussed to the point of exhaustion. The patient work of scholars has made the prophets of Israel live again. Now attention, both in this country and on the Continent, is being focused on the Psalms, and a book that has always been a spring for the devotional life is beginning to pass through the same enlivening process that has restored the prophets to us. Mr. Snaith's book falls into three main divisions. In the first of them he deals with the Elohistic Psalter and its Jehovah supplement. He marshals evidence to show that the former, except for Psalms xlv-xlix, is from the period 530-420 B.C., presenting a very plausible case. The latter he finds to be a miscellany in matter and origin. This part of the book is introduced by two sections in one of which the author sketches in a masterly way and with admirable conciseness the political situation in Jerusalem during the latter half of the fifth and the fourth century, B.C.; in the other he briefly puts the case for supposing that Isaiah lviii-lxvi belong to this period and help to enlighten it. He accepts, we note with agreement, the theory that Ezra's work is some fifty years later than that of Nehemiah. The second division is devoted to the Sabbath Psalms. This contains some very valuable and original work, and definitely extends our knowledge of the development of the Sabbath liturgy in Jewish worship. The third division deals with the Coronation Psalms. Mr. Snaith is not satisfied either with the eschatological explanation of these, associated largely with the name of Gunkel, or with Mowinckel's theory that they formed part of the liturgy for an annual New Year's celebration when Yahweh was enthroned, as was Marduk in Babylon. He proposes a very interesting theory that the Psalms of Yahweh's triumph have as their background the old Tiamat myth, and keep fresh in the minds of the worshippers the faith that despite all disaster

that may come to the Jew, final victory is secure. Mr. Snaith has made a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the Psalter. In one or two points of minor significance we may have our doubts—as for example the interpretation of the psalm in Jonah. And while we readily concede that 'Yahweh' may be incorrect it is certain that 'Jehovah' is. We heartily advise our readers to buy this book, and congratulate the Epworth Press upon its enterprise in producing it so cheaply.

W. L. WARDLE.

*Essentials in the Development of Religion.* By J. E. Turner,  
M.A., Ph.D. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Dr. Turner's latest book was begun, as he tells us, before some of his previously published works. It should therefore be read in the light of such contributions as *Personality and Reality*, and *Revelation of Deity*. For it is the mark of the philosopher that there should be inner coherence in the presentation of his views. The author calls this work 'A Philosophic and Psychological Study' (Is there, by the way, any good reason for the different endings of the two adjectives?) This is precisely what it is, though the 'philosophic' study is more to the fore than the 'psychological.' It has been written, as he tells us, 'with the conviction that the psychological analysis of all phases of religious experience, even those which may be accounted the highest, is capable of yielding results of inestimable importance which could be attained in no other way.' It is thus psychological in its approach, and philosophic in its method and purpose. Psychology claims to be a 'science,' and whether or no the claim is justifiable—a question which demands a close investigation of what is meant by a 'science'—at least, like the other sciences, it provides data for the philosopher. Such data are, indeed, indispensable for the philosopher who can only think when he has something to think about. His business, as Dr. Turner well puts it, is 'to evaluate the entirety of experience and the whole of reality.' One can therefore, as I might say, be a psychologist without being a philosopher, but one cannot be a philosopher without being a psychologist—which is another way of saying that the psychologist's business is to face *some* facts, while the philosopher's business is to face *all* the facts. In eighteen chapters the author discusses most of the issues which engross the student of the philosophy of religion—what religion is, the relation between good and evil, immortality, knowledge and faith, authority, tradition, and the numinous, Divine personality, and so on. The greater part of the book is written in a somewhat laboured style, and gives at least one by no means unappreciative reader the impression that it has come slowly and with difficulty to the birth. Perhaps this is as it should be in a work of this kind; though it should not be impossible to wed the fine rapture of religious insight with the careful reasoning demanded of the philosophic task. Religion is regarded as 'the response or attitude of humanity, when this response is taken as being an explicit

*unity* or real whole, to the Universe, likewise taken as a whole'; or, more briefly, as 'explicit wholeness of response.' In one of the closing chapters Dr. Turner discusses 'Divine Personality,' perhaps the most important issue for the *religious* man—and let us not forget that there is only 'religion' where there are religious people. Religion, to these, is not so much response to the 'Universe,' as response to *God*. In other words, they *respond* to One who has first of all *called*. Their conviction is, if I may use the words of our author, that 'not only may man strain ever upwards, but Deity, as essentially personal, can descend to meet and sustain the human effort.' Such a conviction Dr. Turner maintains and defends in some of the best pages of the book. The author is to be warmly thanked for a sound and suggestive discussion of the issues underlying religious faith.

C. J. WRIGHT.

*Convictions.* Edited by Leonard Hodgson, Canon of Winchester Cathedral. (S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.)

'This volume contains official statements representing forty-two different Churches in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australasia. It is believed that nowhere else is there to be found so comprehensive a collection of those differing Christian convictions, which must somehow be reconciled if there is to be a genuinely reunited Christendom.' This cover-note indicates the supreme importance of a book which should be carefully studied by every responsible Christian. There has been a good deal of superficial optimism in regard to the problems of reunion and we have in this anthology of doctrinal statements a salutary antidote. Indeed, in one way this volume is just a little disturbing, for it reveals the inexcusable misunderstanding that exists between the different Christian communities. Of course there is a noticeable air of charity and a most commendable desire to understand running through the whole, nevertheless, a certain amount of time is wasted in analysing difficulties which have no reality. This occurs in the first contribution from the Society of Friends: 'People are led to regard them (the Creeds) as final statements of truth which leave no room for further enlightenment. . . .' But is this so? No creed even pretends to be inspired and no Church has ever declared that they were final standards in themselves. Their authority is merely that of the people who made and use them. However, the Report from the Society reveals some grave divergences of belief. The view of the Church is typically hazy and nebulous: ' . . . we should hesitate to speak of it (the Church) as "constituted by God's Will".' The Society of Friends is not singular in its belief that nothing can take the place of the spiritual and that Faith is the touchstone of all religious life and growth; but it is alone, and significantly alone, in its indifference to the expression of such faith in terms of ecclesiastical organization. Incidentally the Friends should be urged to recognize that it was such an 'organized' Church that produced and preserved the Gospels, and that it is only by comparing the historic creeds with

its own statement of belief that the Society come to the conclusion that its position is 'fundamentally Christian.' Again the assertion that 'no sacramental rites were instituted by our Lord and enjoined upon His followers' is one that appears to be utterly irreconcilable with the other contributions, such, for instance, as the comment by the 'Churches of Christ': 'There is now no sort of doubt in the minds of modern scholars that in the Apostolic Church the Lord's Supper was the central act of Christian worship. . . .' It would appear then, that if reunion is going to be built upon the smallest common denominator of faith contained in *Convictions*, it will have an all too meagre foundation. This book also reveals the essential dangers of Sectarianism. The weakness of Protestantism has always been its excessive individualism and one can detect in these statements modes of expression and casts of thought which are peculiar to the various denominations. This may seem a somewhat intangible feature yet in practice it is recognized that it is a real difficulty. *Convictions* will be of immense value if it helps us to realize the urgency and depth of the most central problems of Christendom. This is not a book that one merely recommends for it is in another category. It is essential and it demands attention. It may be suggested that as a book for group discussion, *Convictions* is admirable.

J.

*The Father and the Son.* By W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., D.D.  
(S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d. net)

Principal Lofthouse maintains that the central theme of the Fourth Gospel is the unique relationship which exists between the Father and the Son. Not only is this the centre and core of the Johannine teaching, it is also the distinctive element in the Teaching of Our Lord. This doctrine lies behind all the New Testament documents, but is found in its original purity in the Fourth Gospel. Emphatically, however, it is not the doctrine of the Universal Fatherhood of God, as usually taught and generally accepted to-day. This is the creed of theism in general, and not of Christianity in particular. The teaching which marks Christianity off from the world religions is the unique Sonship of Jesus, and the sonship to which the believer may attain through Christ, a mutual relationship, found by a personal recognition of God as Father. The book is, however, wider in its scope. It is a re-examination, in the light of this particular and distinguishing teaching, of the doctrines of Christianity, especially as they are expressed in the phrases of the great creeds of Christendom. Here Dr. Lofthouse finds the cure for most of our modern religious ills, and we most heartily agree with him. Far too long we have been equating Christian theology with theistic theory, and the Christian Life with ordinary decent living. These chapters are most helpful and stimulating, and can do no other than help considerably towards the clarifying of our thought on these vital matters. It is most interesting in these days to note the gradual rehabilitation of the Fourth Gospel. More and

more scholars are retracing their steps, and seeking to establish anew its trustworthiness and accuracy. Whilst Dr. Lofthouse does not deal with critical questions, he is bound to make some assumptions. He appears to assume that the Gospel was written under the personal direction of the aged son of Zebedee. He claims to have hinted nowhere that we have the very words of Christ, but he certainly infers that there has been a minimum of transformation. He goes very far, in finding, not a development of Christian thought, but the very essence of the Gospel in its pristine form. He roundly denies that there is any such thing as the Johannine doctrine of the Logos. Here we find ourselves in serious disagreement, for our opinion, doubtless an extreme one, is that, whilst the Johannine term is certainly 'Son,' the whole Gospel is founded on the Philonic teaching concerning the Logos. Both clothes and voice are those of Esau, but for our part we can still see the Philonic Jacob inside them. All these critical questions are beside the point so far as the author is concerned, and with regard to the rest of the book, they are beside the point so far as we are concerned, but they must certainly have some bearing on the claim that here we have the original Teaching of Our Lord in its purest form.

NORMAN H. SNAITH.

*The Vision of God : The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum.* The Bampton Lecture for 1928. By Kenneth E. Kirk. (Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.)

Readers of the Bampton Lecture as it was published in 1931, will be delighted that this abridgement has been achieved. It has still further compressed the contents of that big full book, and made its teaching available for a wider public. Those who come fresh to its study will note with surprise that the doctrine of the vision of God is illustrated not from the cloister of the solitary saint, but from the active lives of churchmen, like Benedict guiding the extra-church energy of laymen into disciplined monasticism, or Thomas Aquinas reducing the intellectual confusion of his times into a massive and rigid doctrinal system, or Ignatius of Loyola guided by the Vision away from the monastic experiment of a thousand years to a great adventure in world-evangelization. The great agents of Vision are seen in the traditional Catholic lineage. Our Author is not tempted into Asiatic paths of sainthood, nor does he venture into the complex of our modern life. Perhaps its problems and persons are too near for correct lines to be drawn from conduct to vision. The book begins with the saying of Jesus: 'Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.' The primary application of it is individualistic, but its implications are shown to be as wide as Christian Society. If to see God is the end of human life, its quest starts many problems. Some will seek it by renouncing the world and by self-discipline. Some will follow codes of conduct, while still others will find in vision an incentive to the service of their fellows. And all varieties will find New Testament justification for their peculiar ways. There is room in N.T., as

there is in life, for great variety of temperament and method, all contributing to ultimate harmony. The only enemy of the Vision of God is that idolatry which carries self-interest into discipline and philanthropy and prayer. Man ever comes between himself and God, and purity of heart means here a looking away from self toward God, assured that before our vision of Him is clear, His sight of us is certain. It seems to the reviewer that full as the book is, it does not picture the present hindrances to the vision of God. The heart of our times is set upon world-conquest and world enjoyment. We are living in a more serviceable and comfortable world than did Augustine or Fenelon and our inventions and achievements are not aids to revelation. Altruism and humanism may achieve world equity in economics and in politics, but the vision of God awaits interpretation. Perhaps a future Bampton Lecture may supply it.

JOSEPH RUTHERFORD.

*A New Highway Towards Christian Reality.* By T. Wigley, M.A. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.)

The spirit of challenge pervades this book. The author, convinced that our religion will be ignored or condemned by this generation, unless it vindicate itself as essential, here and now, writes not for the professional student so much as for thoughtful men and women, who find it difficult to square the assured results of modern thought and knowledge with traditional beliefs and dogmas. He aims to furnish a clue to the one highway of the spirit. He claims, for example, that if there is one conviction from which there will be no departing, it is that all knowledge is a unity, and what is false in science can never be true in religion. And again: neither a library which is called 'The Book' nor a Church which claims infallibility can in these days be regarded as 'The Authority' in religion. He then proceeds to examine our ideas of Nature, Law, Man, God, Jesus, Immanence and Incarnation, Miracle and Miracles, Faith and Knowledge, Sin and Salvation, Personal Survival, and the Essence of Christianity. Mr. Wigley is a virile thinker and carefully evaluates his authorities. He recalls Professor Laski's saying: The spirit which denies has triumphed over the spirit which affirms, and pleads for the serious consideration of what is essential and non-essential in the faith which many still profess, believing that we must either go forward or drift backward. He thus visualizes the demand for a re-statement: On the one hand stand Rome and those related to her by mind, temperament, or training in other Churches, on the other hand stand those who are both liberal and evangelical, representing 'the attempt of the modern spirit, acting religiously, to refashion Christianity, not outside, but inside the warm limits of the ancient Churches, to secure not a reduced but a transformed Christianity.' *A New Highway* is a sincere book, critical, yet not without inspiring affirmations of faith: To the author Jesus remains 'the most significant fact in history, a fact which is not

exhausted by an appeal to His ethical teaching.' He regards Paul's conception: 'Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus' and Jesus, 'the first-born of many brethren' as 'the essence of Christianity which distinguishes it from all that came before or after, and vitally affects our attitude to God, man, and the world. . . . To the idea of God as Holy Love, which we owe to Jesus, corresponds the estimation of man as the child of God, in which due regard is given both to the real and the ideal.'

*The Acts of the Apostles.* By J. A. Findlay, M.A. (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d.)

Professor J. A. Findlay has prepared this Commentary as a textbook for schools. He has found the volumes of *The Beginnings of Christianity* an almost inexhaustible treasury of illuminating information and ideas. His Introduction brings out the fact that everything in the *Acts* is subordinate to the Name of the Holy Spirit—incarnate first in Jesus, then in the Church. A secondary object is to show that Paul was as truly an Apostle as Peter. The two are in perfect agreement all the way through. Luke was probably a somewhat feminine type of character and the virility of his friend and hero, St. Paul, is prominent. The gentler side of Paul's nature is not shown save in the farewell speech of Chapter xv. Luke was probably a leader in the Church at Antioch when Paul was introduced to it by Barnabas. His interest in everything about Antioch is evident. The *Acts* binds Gospels and Epistles into one, and forms a New Testament avenue by which we pass from the little company of Christ's disciples to the Catholic Church. The treatment of Stephen's speech is very suggestive. His martyrdom was rather a lynching than an execution. Many new ideas emerge as the Commentary proceeds. Teachers will find it very helpful and so will students. The Revised Version is used in sections, followed by the commentary on each. The silence of Luke as to such a momentous event as the Martyrdom of John must be regarded as conclusive against the tradition that he was put to death along with James.

J. T.

*The Christology of the Apologists : Doctrinal.* By V. A. Spence Little, M.A., B.Litt. With an Introduction by W. B. Selbie, D.D. (Duckworth. 5s. net.)

Dr. Selbie commends this new volume in Duckworth's well-known 'Studies in Theology' series as a book that fills a gap in the history of Christian doctrine 'with a thoroughness and singleness of aim not found in any of the general histories of doctrine.' That the Apologists have little system in their presentations of Christian truth is painfully evident to those who endeavour to follow their arguments. Mr. Little has faced the difficulties and he has set forth the results

of his study in a practical form. There is no attempt at rhetoric, but only an attempt to present the facts. For this purpose he has taken into account the earlier Christian teaching, the current religious philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world, and the elements of the pagan religious philosophy that the Apologists combatted and which could have influenced their forms of expression in stating their doctrines. In the literature he surveys the author finds 'an earlier stage in the development of that form of doctrinal statement which, in course of time, was to become incorporated in the Nicene symbol.' An opening chapter deals with the development of thought in the sub-Apostolic age. Against the view of Spiritual Sonship, or Pneumatic theory, that ultimately prevailed, the influence of the Adoptionist theory is traced in the Christian writings that have survived. The Epistle to Diognetus, with its presentation of 'Christ, the Word or Revealer of God, and Christ, the Redeemer of Man,' is then examined. The study of the Apologists proper is introduced by a general view of their Christological teaching and their use of the Old Testament. Justin Martyr, because of his importance, has the most important place, but Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenagoras are found to teach a similar doctrine to his. Everywhere, notwithstanding the difficulties of interpretation that lack of explicit theological purpose entails, it is taught that: 'In an exclusive sense, Christ is the pre-existing, unique "Son".' To watch Christianity incorporating current thoughts and words, so that the statement of Christian doctrine becomes more philosophical, to its gain and not to its loss, and yet carrying on the New Testament tradition, is only one of the attractions this study offers. Another volume dealing with pagan philosophy is promised.

J. C. M.

*Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* By J. M. Creed and J. S. Boys Smith. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

It is said that the eighteenth century is the dullest period in English history. This judgement is surely the result of schoolboy prejudice or indolence. No one who will take the pains to analyse the issues which were decided then can fail to be thrilled by the struggle. Whether one follows the process of expansion, and shares the growing pains of humanity as it enters a new stage of political, mental and spiritual development—or listens for the first articulate expression of the English people, one has no excuse to describe the experience as dull or boring. The consideration of the century as the age of the Liberal Revolt involves the survey of an enormous mass of literature which is not easily available. It is therefore a convenience to be provided with a collection of eighteenth-century writings, selected by experts who have given us a critical anthology which is much more than an anthology. In *Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century* contemporary editions have been reprinted, several for the

first time since their original issue. In addition to this the selections have been grouped round six subjects. 'Politically, intellectually, and religiously the eighteenth century may be said to be the inversion of the Middle Age.' This is an opening sentence in a stimulating and provocative Introduction, which proceeds to describe the way in which supernatural sanctions faded, and traditional authority yielded to the idea of the autonomy of the individual conscience. The mediaeval scheme was not altogether superseded; it was inverted. In tracing this process we reach the later years of the century when the revolt against the autocratic dominance of Reason is beginning to succeed. It becomes apparent that the word 'Reason' will be newly defined in the religious philosophy of the following period. The first group of selections is headed 'Natural Religion and Revelation' and includes amongst its authors—Locke, Toland, Blount, Samuel Clarke, Tindal and Paley. The second is called 'The Credentials of Revelation' and is represented by Charles Leslie, Whiston, Collins, Sherlock and others. This is followed by a section on 'The Grounds and Sufficiency of Natural Religion Considered,' and the authors range from Law and Berkeley to David Hume. It is interesting to find that John Wesley's sermon on 'Salvation by Faith: a Gospel for Sinners' is chosen to introduce the fourth group of writers. He is the only Englishman amongst them, and we find him in strange company—with Rousseau, Lessing and Kant, illustrating 'The Passing of the Age of Reason.' The new historical and literary methods coming into use towards the end of the century are seen in their application to 'The Study of the Bible' as exemplified in Spinoza, Richard Simon, Jean Astruc, Robert Lowth and J. G. Herder. Finally, contemporary attitudes to 'The Church in its Relation to the State' are represented by extracts from Locke, Hoadly, Warburton, Burke, Priestley and others. The sections are well balanced. Some representative authors are deliberately excluded, but the selective genius of the editors has, happily, provided us with original versions of some of the less known works which had an important bearing on the religious outlook of the day. The book is a useful contribution to the study of a vital period in the development of Christian thought. It helps the reader whose time is limited, to discover the origin of some theological problems which concern him to-day.

LESLIE F. CHURCH.

*Paul: His Heritage and Legacy.* By Kirsopp Lake. (Christophers. 6s. net.)

This book consists of lectures given by Dr. Kirsopp Lake at Brynmawr in 1932, and is divided into I. The Heritage, II. Paul, III. The Legacy. It discusses the historical background, the experience of Paul, and the relevancy of his ideas to our modern situation, especially on the ethical side. All the qualities of frankness, vivacity and learning expected of Dr. Lake are found here, and those who are least inclined

to accept his findings will at any rate find much stimulus. If not always convincing he is never dull, and he has a happy gift of epigram. 'No one long remembers facts, but they do not forget visions, and though facts rule us, visions rule facts.' When Paul's experience is being examined, the author's prepossessions are greatly in evidence, and here it may be doubted whether the treatment is adequate. It may be easy to say that Paul's own explanation 'henceforth no longer I that live, but Christ in me' was as natural in Paul's time as it would be bizarre in ours, but this scarcely estimates at an adequate value the considered testimony of many who can see nothing bizarre in it. In any understanding of these matters it would appear that some essential difference is involved in the issue whether we speak of 'a totality of values' or of 'God'; but Dr. Lake says, 'It does not really matter for—except for homiletic purposes—it is just as easy to say "totality of values" as to say "God".' The third section of the book will be found of special interest, for it is clear that the thinking of the next generation will be deeply concerned with ethical issues. In Dr. Lake's view the relevant questions will be our attitude towards sex, force and wealth. This is a book to be considered, even if at the end we wonder how a Christian ethic is to be fashioned if much of the traditional Christian theology has been abandoned as obsolete.

ROBERT STRONG.

*All that Jesus Began. The Social Outcome of Christianity.* By  
A. W. HARRISON, M.C., B.A., B.Sc., D.D. (S.C.M. Press.  
2s. net.)

The main social achievements of the Christian Faith are here set forth. A fine historical sense, the gift of expression, and reforming zeal have gone to the making of this book. It traces the effects of Christ's teaching of the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the ideal of one human family. It deals further with the care of the body and of animals. The influence of Christianity upon the arts and education is also sketched, and there is a discussion on Christianity and Science. The final chapter, 'The Christ that is to be,' contains an optimistic forecast of the future, with a brief discussion of the hope of Christian reunion. There is nothing superficial in this book; faults and mistakes of the Church are honestly acknowledged; its brevity is at once its strength and weakness. It will be invaluable to the busy student, though it seems a pity that in such a fine book space has not been found to show, even briefly, the effects of the Faith on philosophy and literature. Also, in the discussion on war and peace, mention might have been made of the growing numbers of Christ-guided folk who take the absolutist position with regard to peace. After each chapter are questions for the use of study circles, and lists of books for further reading.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

*And the Life Everlasting.* By John Baillie, D.D., D.Lit. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.)

No Scot is able to forget that man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever. Professor Baillie recollects sitting on his father's knee in the day nursery of the Highland Manse and learning this, the first question and answer of the shorter Catechism. In a certain sense this book is the expression of that answer. Professor Baillie is convinced that there is considerable interest in the subject of immortality, but there is also considerable confusion as to the meaning of that subject. In brief, he is convinced that there are only four possibilities that have occupied men's minds on this subject. Of these, two are not really calculated to appeal to a modern thinker because they represent the primitive tribal view on the one hand, and the Indian notion of absorption of the human and the divine on the other. Consequently we are left with choice between alternatives which represent pessimism on the one hand, and the idea of enjoying God for ever on the other. The former is represented by Thomas Hardy who said that, 'The only support of his spirit was the hope that we might be able frankly and honestly to accept solace of imagination in the lack of any substantial solace.' Professor Baillie's book is an attempt to make the conception of immortality more attractive. F. W. H. Myers' story of the Church-warden who when asked what he believed would happen to him after death, said he supposed he would go to Heaven, but that he did not want to talk about such a melancholy subject, indicates the frequent lack of appreciation of what the Christian doctrine involves. Professor Baillie does not claim to carry Christian thought into any new position but rather to bring out unrealized implications, namely that immortality is not mere survival but the fulness of individual life. He has succeeded in this aim and in a book which covers wide ground and exhibits extensive acquaintance not merely with theology but with general literature, he has set forth an attractive picture of what the answer to the first question of the Catechism implies.

E. S. W.

*The Epistle to the Galatians.* (G. S. Duncan, D.D.). Moffat New Testament Commentary. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d.)

Dr. Duncan is already known to New Testament scholars by his great book on *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry*; I have never been able to understand why it has not attracted more attention from the learned, for to my mind it was an epoch-making book, and should have had a much wider sale. This new commentary will add to his high reputation with the discerning. I have tested his exposition in one difficult and obscure passage after another, and invariably found it not only illuminating, but essentially true to the vital principle

of the gospel. He has not persuaded me that Galatians is the earliest epistle of Paul, for it still seems to me that the chronological difficulties opposed to this solution, adduced for instance, by Meyer, are insuperable. Nor do I think that he has dealt conclusively with the arguments brought forward in J. H. Ropes' *Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians*. I still find it difficult to believe that Paul's opponents in Galatia were Jewish Christians; they were 'false brethren, with no standing in the Church,' Pharisaic Jews masquerading as Christians: Acts xv. 5 suggests a much less fanatical opposition than that which Paul encountered in Galatia. But these are secondary matters, and we may have to agree to differ for a long time to come. The important thing is that here is a first-class commentary on the most controversial of all Paul's letters, written by a scholar who is as deeply convinced as any Methodist could be of the abiding truths for which the great apostle fought his life and death battle, permeated with a very beautiful spirit of devotion to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and animated by a liveliness of style which makes this commentary a model for all expositors to follow. The day of the heavy commentary is, please God, over. Dr. Duncan tells us exactly what the preacher wants to know, without pedantry or burdensome detail. Methodist preachers may be sure of finding what they want in the weekly round of sermon-making for themselves and their people. Specially praiseworthy is Dr. Duncan's treatment of the obscure passage in ii, 15 ff, but the commentary as a whole is a not unworthy companion to Dr. Dodd's great commentary on 'Romans' in the same series; there could be no higher praise.

J. A. FINDLAY.

*Philosophical Studies.* By A. E. Taylor. (Macmillan. 15s.)

A book by Professor Taylor is always something of an event in the philosophical world. The present volume consists of essays of which all but one have previously been published. Here they are collected, eleven in all, to make a very strong team, although, as in the case of all teams, some members are stronger than the others. The first five deal with Greek philosophy. They are followed by four which are concerned with Aquinas, Bacon, Butler and Hume. The last pair are entitled 'Knowing and Believing,' and 'Is Goodness a Quality?' which is naturally concerned with the position taken by Professor G. E. Moore. Professor Taylor joins in a modern tendency to rehabilitate Aquinas. He speaks of the 'bad habit' of beginning the study of modern philosophy with Descartes and says that if the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had sneered less at Aquinas and studied him more, they would have had a better understanding of the problems of Epistemology. Whilst this may be true, it is not unconnected with the fact that Aquinas had been made an oracle, and the usual fate of oracles is disestablishment at the hands of succeeding generations. Probably now we are able to take a juster view of the merits of Aquinas, but that should not lead us to disregard his limits as a philosopher.

The essay on Butler's ethics is marked by acute understanding, and Professor Taylor succeeds in doing what seems unlikely—saying something fresh upon this very well-covered subject. The same may be said of the essay on Hume. Indeed, one feels that the author has come to the root of the matter when he says that, 'A true philosophy is not a matter of surface opinions, but the genuine expressing of the whole personality.' He adds: 'Because I can never feel that Hume's own philosophy was that, I have to own to a haunting uncertainty whether Hume was really a great philosopher or only a very clever man.' That remark is typical of the insight displayed by the essays as a whole, and one must express gratification that Professor Taylor has bound together these illuminating papers in a single volume.

E. S. W.

*John, Peter, and the Fourth Gospel.* By G. W. Broomfield.  
(S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.)

Canon Broomfield, a very busy missionary in Zanzibar, more than a thousand miles from any up-to-date theological library, has written this book in the belief that his experiences as a missionary and his independent study may have some light to throw upon one of the most fascinating problems in the New Testament. He first paints the character of John, the son of Zebedee, with new colours from a detailed study of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts: he finds this picture consistent with the supposition that he was the Beloved Disciple and that he wrote the Fourth Gospel. He breaks fresh ground in his explanation of the relationship between the Third and Fourth Evangelists, in that John, the son of Zebedee, was one of the eye-witnesses from whom Luke derived much of the material for his Gospel: and John was acquainted with the Third Gospel or Proto-Luke when he wrote his Gospel. Canon Broomfield gives further proof, if that were needed, of the untrustworthiness of the evidence for the alleged early martyrdom of the son of Zebedee; but he is not convinced that the tradition that the Fourth Gospel was written in Ephesus is to be accepted. He suggests that this Gospel was written in Alexandria, the history of which Church 'appears to provide an explanation of the sudden emergence of the Gospel from obscurity in the middle of the second century.' The author does not imagine that he will convince all his readers of the strength of the arguments in support of the traditional authorship of the Gospel, but his book is a careful contribution to a complex question; and not the least interesting section is that in which he suggests a parallel between John in this Gospel and Archdeacon Woodward, of the U.M.C.A., in his *Reminiscences*, in the use they both made of earlier narratives although they were writing of things of which they had been eye-witnesses.

F.B.C.

*Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism. The Gospel of God.*  
By Dr. G. W. Richards. (Charles Scribner's Sons.  
7s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Richards has a message which soars above Fundamentalism—for he is not dependent upon the verbal inspiration of the Bible. He finds in the Bible the Word of God, rather than the words about God. For him Modernism is not enough, for it is too dependent upon the human reason, and strips religion of its supernaturalness. He quotes with approbation Luther's words:—‘I do not know it, I do not understand it, but sounding from above, and ringing in my ears, I hear what is beyond the thought of men.’ Dr. Richards is a believer in the Barthian theology, and with passion preaches that Gospel. He shows the limits of humanism, and points out that it has dragged down God more and more to the level of man. He welcomes—‘Karl Barth and his associates, who are calling men back to the God who reveals Himself—the God of the Bible, of the Reformers, of the humble believers of all ages.’ We believe that he does well to emphasize that the Gospel is a revelation of God, that it is that first and last. It tells of a love which is revealed in God and by God, and is not our creation nor discovery—but it is God’s manifestation to sinful men. With this we are in hearty accord, and we believe that there is no soteriological hope in humanism. Dr. Richards is convinced of a God who is seeking us, and that we do not go to God, but God comes to us. He quotes with approval Brunner’s words: ‘This constitutes the absolutely incomprehensible message of the Gospel, that God comes to man, and that man does not go to God; that God resolves the contradiction and not man; just this constitutes the difference between the Gospel and all other religions and philosophies. All religion, in its final analysis, bases salvation on an activity of man, either on his cognition, his cult, or his mystical meditations.’ We believe that this is a false opposition—for surely God is often to be found in the cognition, in the cult, and in the mystical meditation. We also believe that, while the emphasis should be laid upon God’s approach to man, man also approaches God. There is a double movement of God to man, of man to God. In reading this book, which is inspired by the Barthian theology, we find that we are in hearty agreement with the main contention of its teaching, but we realize that Dr. Richards, in his anxiety to emphasize the truth of God’s transcendence, does not appear to give full justice to God’s immanence. Surely God works in many humanistic movements, and although we are not saved by social reform, His spirit inspires the noblest social aspirations of our times. We are not saved by reason—that is evident: but the Spirit of God works through the reason. We believe that Dr. Richards suggests certain oppositions which do not of necessity exist. Nevertheless, we have found this book most challenging and inspiring. It is glowing, and passionate, and will call us from our self-sufficiency, and make us realize more deeply that our sufficiency is of God.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

*Vale.* By Dean Inge. (Longmans Green & Co. 3s. 6d.)

The 'sadness of farewell' is greatly mitigated: in fact it is hardly existent, for the simple reason that we believe Dean Inge to have said 'Vale' in a similar spirit to the 'Vale' written in Latin elegiacs by boys leaving Eton. And the Deanery of St. Paul's is no more the end than the last day at Eton. His retirement is well earned and no one will begrudge the leisure he so richly deserves, but we feel sure that the mind so richly stored with learning, even if withdrawn from observation, will upon occasion, furnish those meats which we have come to rely upon for our moral and spiritual sustenance. Dean Inge has won for himself a secure niche in English thought and English letters by his studies of mysticism and Plotinus. In 'Vale' is described the story of his life and the way in which he arrived at the beliefs which are so brilliantly expounded in his published works. In one of his last sermons as Dean of St. Paul's, Dean Inge said: 'Let them ask themselves sometimes, "What are the things I would die for?" Then they would know what their real religion was.' The comparison of the Christian life with an athletic contest brings out the outstanding feature of Dean Inge's career—an unbounded courage in face of all opposition. 'Vale' is the book of a man who is happy in his religion, firm in his faith, and felicitous in his life.

*Charles Lamb: A Study.* By Lewis May (Geoffrey Bles. 10s. 6d. net.)

This book makes no pretence to 'yet another' Life of Lamb. It is the tribute of a friend. 'I love him,' says the author. Though not blind to his limitations he sees in Lamb a man of genius. His imagination was 'rich and sensitive' but not creative. He was a spectator of the human scene and his mind was 'speculative, meditative, critical, introspective, and, above all, retrospective.' He notes, for example, that Lamb rarely wrote anything till it had become a memory. His writings are mainly recollections in tranquillity, the evocation of things remembered long ago. He compares the *Letters* and *Essays* and thinks a good test of 'literary sensibility' would be to invite people to say which they preferred. The former, written with 'loins ungirt' and flung together pell-mell, are 'charming, engaging, amusing, pathetic, ingenious, original, quaint—almost every epithet you could apply to the essays, and yet, not within a world of them.' The *Letters* are literature in the 'act of becoming,' while the *Essays* are 'literature in being and are wrought, constructed, fortified by the very perfection of their structure, against the assaults of time.' In his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare*,

Lamb emerged as a front rank literary critic. Ample evidence of his critical interpretation is furnished as in the case of Ford, whom he regarded of the first order of poets: He sought for sublimity, not by parcels, in metaphors or visible images, but directly, where she has her full residence, in the heart of man; in the actions and sufferings of the greatest minds. If, as Mr. May suggests, criticism is but the reaction of the individual mind to the thing contemplated, it is clear that in criticism of any sort a critic passes judgement upon himself as well: It is not only the work of art that is before the court, but the critic also. And Lamb, in recording his self-communings and impressions of people and things, mirrors himself in his writings. It is a tribute to Mr. May's critical insight that he recognizes 'just as there is a grief too deep for tears, so there is a humour too subtle, too exquisite, for audible cachinnation.' He holds that a quality of literature in perfection is that no word or syllable can be altered without a sense of loss. And he fearlessly applies this test to Lamb: try to paraphrase *Elia!* It were as impossible as to paraphrase Shakespeare or Milton. Mr. May's discerning Study is a worthy tribute to one of the finest spirits in English literature.

*Spain.* By Sir Charles Petrie. *Poland.* By E. J. Patterson.  
(Vols. V and VI in the 'Modern States' series. Arrowsmith. 3s. 6d. each.)

The trouble to-day is that the world will not 'stay put': the mania for speed has infected events as well as road hogs and what once would be a nine days' wonder is now but a brief interlude in this non-stop parade. There are several things you can do—for instance you can (or can't) buy an island somewhere and get away from it all, or you can immure yourself in a monastery or a nunnery, or you may 'cultivate your garden' or boast that 'I never read the papers,' or, what is hardest of all, endeavour to keep up with it all. This is hard going and the wear and tear on your bearings will test your metal. 'What is happening in Europe doesn't matter to us' do you say? Doesn't it! Some of us were asking other people to 'keep the home fires burning till the boys come home' because we were away in parts of the world we had never dreamed of. This 'war to end war' has left us to-day with a feeling of trepidation at what to-morrow's news might be. If the politicians and diplomats and soldiers who made such an unholy mess at Versailles had been better informed ethnologically and geographically there would be more peace and quietude in the world to-day. You can't understand the other fellow's point of view unless you know something of his conditions, and this series of 'Modern States' is designed to give you that knowledge with the minimum expense of time. There is sufficient history to form the necessary background, but they are concerned principally with the past thirty or forty years. Each book is provided with bibliographical notes for your guidance should you wish to further your knowledge. Maps and complete index combined with clear

print and handy form make this series a necessity. Japan, Russia, South Africa and Canada have already appeared, and Turkey, Egypt, U.S.A. and India are in active preparation and will be very eagerly awaited. The author responsible for each book is an authority, and this is very evident in the case of these two issues. The regeneration of Poland is a fascinating theme—there are three chapters: 'The Old Poland,' 'Subjection and Restoration,' 'The New Poland.' Mr. E. J. Patterson has a thorough knowledge of his subject and he writes with sympathy and impartiality. The Minorities Question which caused a flutter at Geneva lately has a new aspect seen with Mr. Patterson's help. Poland has provided history with some great figures from King John Sobieski and Kosciuszko to Paderewski and Pilsudski. When one considers the changes wrought in Poland under Marshal Pilsudski and President Moscicki, it is difficult to realize that a few years ago they were both refugee conspirators living in the Mile End Road in London.

Sir Charles Petrie, Bart., is responsible for the Spanish book—his 'History of Spain' is sufficient proof of his ability to undertake this work. Spanish is the most widely spoken language in the world after our own. That sounds astonishing, but it is perfectly true. The Spaniard is a realist, an individualist and a good deal of a fatalist. He is capable of extraordinary energy and some of the greatest feats in the annals of mankind have been performed by Spaniards; but he has not the taste for continued effort. Yet with all its drawbacks the Spanish race has impressed Latin civilization (not only in a material sense) upon the greater part of the Americas and so has accomplished what the British have failed to achieve in India or the French in Northern Africa. Sir Charles Petrie has performed that rare feat of condensing what he has to say without sacrificing lucidity. You are engrossed the while you are learning, which is as it should be. One feels that politics is the curse of Spain and yet the peasant as I have found him only wishes to be left in peace—simple, hard working—for the soil generally is not generous—good-hearted and courteous to a degree. An ideal country for a holiday—a walking tour for preference, and this book will add considerably to your enjoyment of it for you will know something of the history of the friends you are bound to make.

*Myself and My Friends.* By Lillah McCarthy. An Aside by Bernard Shaw. Illustrated New Edition in the Keystone Library. (Thornton Butterworth. 5s.)

Miss McCarthy has achieved distinction. *Myself and My Friends* is a penetrating and extremely well written book. Each of the 'friends,' and there is a distinguished host, lives and moves in her pages: the portraits are intimate and frank but restrained with the delicate artistry with which we associate Miss McCarthy and her stage work. Sir James Barrie said: 'But you've been very cheeky' when he looked through the proofs. It is true—she has! but none of her friends could

take exception to 'cheek' like this. First of all I would commend this book to young people as a stimulant to endeavour, for here is hard work earning and winning its reward. Bernard Shaw told Miss McCarthy at the beginning of her career to go away from London for ten years and learn her business. She went, came back, and then said to G.B.S.: 'Now I've learnt it—now give me a part'—that is the spirit of Miss McCarthy. Or, if you are interested in the theatre as an institution of our national life, this book is invaluable in furnishing sidelights on theatrical history. In reminiscent mood you can spend many pleasant half hours and, if you want to see people of attainment in art and letters in the intimacy of private life, you can find them here from Asquith to Zangwill. One will always associate Lillah McCarthy with the Greek Drama, and we shall ever remain in her debt for the efforts she has made to stimulate the appreciation of it in our own present day. The memories of 'Œdipus Rex,' 'Trojan Women,' 'Iphigenia,' and 'The Bacchæ,' are more vivid to us as we remember the parts of Miss McCarthy. Two quotations will prove the passion of Miss McCarthy for the Greek Drama and also her ability in self-expression: 'Greek Drama is not for college shelves and college lectures. The vestals who tend her fires must not be college dons: that is bad casting. The learned have done the world great service in keeping its fires from dying out, but only the stage can fan Greek Drama into flame again, and make it shine like a beacon lit long ago, to guide all future generations of warfaring men and women.' 'Here is a Greek play. It has lived some 2,000 years, rather less than the length of life of the oldest trees in the world. Mankind takes, and rightly takes, such pains to keep them alive. This Greek play has kept itself alive for more than twenty centuries. It is as immortal as mortal things can be. Civilizations have come and gone and the play still lives. Its leaves are as fresh to-day as when the old Greeks dared to plant it on the Athenian stage. Every man who has ever seen the play acted—everyone throughout these centuries whose heart was not of stone—has been moved by it: by sharing the adventures, the sorrows and the hope of which it tells.' This high endeavour is the note and *motif* of *Mysel and My Friends*. There are many excellent photographs and facsimile letters. Bernard Shaw 'lets himself go' in a preface which, apart from its Shavian scintillations, is more than usually interesting.

*The Life of Thomas Richard Matthews.* By Thomas Wright.  
(C. J. Farncombe & Sons. 21s. net.)

The author, who gained distinction by his biographies of *Edward Fitzgerald*, *William Cowper*, and *William Blake*, tells the life-story of 'Preacher Matthews' (1785–1845), Anglican Clergyman, friend of Edward Fitzgerald, and minister of Christ Church, Bedford, during the eighteen thirties and forties. Matthews entered Sidney College, Cambridge, and early came under the influence of Charles Simeon,

Fellow of King's College and Perpetual Curate of Trinity Church. A militant evangelical, Matthews preached with all the fervour of an early Methodist not only in his Church but in market places and on village greens, rallying audiences by the aid of a silver trumpet. He was a firm believer in Baptism by immersion, proclaimed the Second Advent, and described himself as the Minister of the Primitive Episcopal Church of the Reformed Church of England in the town and county of Bedford. He also exercised his gifts of healing, and held Love Feasts after the manner of Methodists, for whose doctrine and discipline he had a great admiration. This unconventional clergyman spent his energies with reckless abandon. He held it was better to be in the Lord's furnace than in the devil's palace. Love, to him, was the commencement, foundation, and the very 'Soul of Religion.' A brief section of this interesting book deals with the latter days of Edward Fitzgerald.

*Far Eastern Front.* By Edgar Snow. Illustrated. (Jarrold. 18s.)

Mr. Snow, an American press correspondent, has lived long enough in the East to be a most efficient guide. He is our interpreter of the epochal events in Japan, China and Manchuria of recent years. To Mr. Snow the 'inscrutable East' does not apply to Japan at any rate. For him the aims and ambitions of Japanese policy are clear, and his long and interesting account of people and things, with his carefully collated facts, are convincing. One thing Mr. Snow has in common with most of the authors on this subject is the big mark of interrogation upon which he ends. A book from the same publishers which appeared earlier this year (*Manchuria : The Cockpit of Asia*, by Colonel Etherton and Hassell Tiltman), together with *Far Eastern Front* help one to understand the blind fatality of what is happening in the Far East. Both books give a full, authoritative and well-balanced statement of the pre-existing facts and conditions out of which the present state of affairs has arisen, and apply a level-headed judgement to an examination of the resultant problem. Mr. Snow, as an American, does not express an opinion as to whether the American detachment to the problems of Europe has not aggravated the position in the Far East. The theme of this book is Japan's break with the *status quo* in the Far East, and it is necessary to remind ourselves that the Chinese and Japanese are not kindred peoples. It is, of course, true that China and Japan have a common cultural tradition, but there remain vast psychological and historical differences. These have rapidly widened during the past century. To-day the two peoples are unlike racially, in physical appearance and in national psychosis. In its long history many races have raided and conquered China, but all of them having won in war, could not win in peace, and 'gradually the slow infiltration of Chinese culture weakened them, civilized them, and the immense fecundity of the Chinese millions in time overwhelmed

them.' Whole peoples were lost, buried and forgotten in the enormous spaces of Eastern Asia. But something we call China and Chinese civilization remains.

Is it possible that the twentieth century penetration of China—not of armed warriors—but of railways and electricity, of books and education and radio will have a different effect? Might it not create a nation in the Japanese sense? And how will the world react to such a nation of 400 millions? But to return to Japan. By her violation of the Nine Power Treaty, by ignoring her obligations under the Briand-Kellog Pact and her obvious determination to assert economic and political sway over China, Japan has offered her challenge to the world. *Araki*, Minister of War, on April 22, 1932, said: 'Japan may never withdraw her troops from Manchuria. . . . We need not pay any attention to what the League of Nations may say; what the Soviet Union may attempt; or what China may plot.' No wonder that Mr. Snow characterizes the declarations of Japanese desire for peace as 'eye-wash!' What is the immediate danger? Russia and Japan, the rival Imperialist Powers of the Far East, are now too well matched for a war to be anything but a desperate hazard for both. It might even be argued that in this case, at least, the increase of armaments has lessened the danger of war by equalizing its risks. It is hard to believe that Japan, who has an immense task before her in Manchuria and who suffers from recurrent deficits, will wish to increase her financial burdens by attempting to conquer Eastern Siberia next year; or, alternatively, that the Russian oligarchs, who are threatened with the usual famine, propose to attack a great naval and military Power at a distance of over 3,000 miles from their own factories and arsenals. Extremist Japanese military elements who wish to destroy the Soviet System now, maintain from time to time that in a war with Russia certain European Powers would support Japan—a sort of 'holy war' against Bolshevism, but recent developments have rather spoiled that argument—the Soviet's triumph of diplomacy in Europe by non-aggression pacts, joining the League of Nations, and the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by America.

Mr. Snow's conclusion, to one of the most interesting as well as vital books on the situation in the Far East, is as follows: 'So the historic meaning of the Western Powers' failure now to accept Japan's challenge is more profound than mere geographical changes resulting from it. A fundamental shift in racial fronts is taking place. The rise of an Eastern Power, great and courageous, and determined enough to challenge the European Powers and America, marks the twilight of Western mastery.'

F.

## GENERAL

*Civilization and the Unemployed.* By A. M. Cameron. (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

In this book Miss Cameron tells of the methods adopted at Lincoln to assist the unemployed, and discusses the whole problem in the light of that experiment. The account of what has been actually achieved in one industrial city through the formation of Service Clubs will be valuable to those who are engaged in similar work elsewhere. But more valuable still is the exposition of the principles underlying this development. Miss Cameron pleads with eloquent insistence for a new attitude to the unemployed. So long as unemployment was a limited and occasional experience in industrial life its effects on the individual were not serious. But now that it is widespread and continuous it needs to be considered not merely from the economic but also from the psychological point of view. It is not sufficient to provide sustenance for men who cannot find work. Prolonged idleness and the loss of self-respect induced by the feeling of being of no account in the community lower the morale of the workless man. It is necessary not simply to find him something to do to occupy his leisure, but something that is worth doing, and so restore to him his sense of personal value. Miss Cameron contends that a new and higher type of working-class civilization was coming into being—a development of as great importance as the Reformation or the Renaissance—and that it is being threatened by the effects of unemployment on the general standard of living and on the personality of the individuals affected by it. Service Clubs check this demoralization by keeping the unemployed within the community, and enabling them still to fulfil useful economic and social functions. The book is well written, with the zest of an enthusiast. One's sole fear—perhaps groundless—is that the establishing of institutions for the unemployed should accustom people to think of unemployment as a normal feature of society. The great essential is a recognition of the fact that unemployment is an altogether unnecessary thing arising out of the utter absence of any established relation between need and industry, and that when such a relation is established it will disappear. Probably Miss Cameron would agree, but there is the meanwhile.

ERNEST R. STORR.

*A Better League of Nations.* By F. N. Keen, Barrister-at-Law. (Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 5s.)

In this book Mr. F. N. Keen discusses the present position of the League of Nations, points out in no measured terms its weakness and its failures, and outlines a scheme for rendering its influence more potent for good. Its greatest defect he attributes to the fact that it is not a world authority; so long as many great nations are

outside it, its status and influence cannot be supreme. Further, the requirement for unanimity in its decisions and the absence of real legislative power to give binding decisions render much of its work abortive. The author wishes to see the powers of the League strengthened, that it may inspire the confidence and loyalty of the world, and his methods would include legislation by the League of all matters of international interest, including the prevention of war, which, when passed by a majority vote in the League Assembly, would be binding on all member States. The bogeys of Nationalism and National Sovereignty have no terrors for the author, who bids us regard the world to-day as a unity, and suggests that the League should become a World organization, with a new Tribunal of Equity set up to settle international disputes of a non-legal character. The findings of such a tribunal should be submitted to the League Assembly, and if passed by a three-fourths majority, should be binding on all parties concerned. The necessity for unanimity he regards as utterly unpractical. A further reform advocated is that member States should have voting power in proportion to population, to safeguard them against the risk of injustice through a combination of either great or small States. We like the suggestion that representatives to the Assembly should not be solely nominated by the Governments of member States, but should be representative of the parliamentary parties most fully representing the people, where such a proceeding is possible. Such live questions to-day as international trade, credit and monetary exchange are fully dealt with by the author, who believes that most of the troubles that harass us could be removed by such international action as he suggests. Whether our own country is ready to accept such drastic changes in the Covenant as Mr. Keen suggests is an open question. The present House of Commons, we feel sure, would reject it, but with the education which is now being carried on by such actions as the National Declaration on Peace, the League of Nations Union, and the numerous Peace societies throughout the world, public opinion is being enlightened. The book should be read by all who wish to see the League of Nations strengthened and made a more useful power for good.

W. A. RUSHWORTH.

*Germany's Secret Armaments.* By Dr. Helmut Klotz.  
(Jarrolds. 5s. net.)

It is difficult to appraise rightly the value of a book that claims to be infallible; especially when its subject-matter is controversy, with its clash of assertion and denial. Such a claim is made by Dr. Klotz. 'The author makes it clear from the start that nothing has been admitted into this book, or even considered, which has not stood the test of searching scrutiny. Consequently, any attempt to weaken the force of the book by denial is doomed to fail. The same fate is in store for any attempt to explain it away.' That he is out to make our flesh creep cannot be reckoned to him for unrighteousness if all

that he states is true, and has been put in its right perspective. Germany to-day, he tells us, is faced with two evils: impoverishment and war, and Hitler is destined to choose both. He proceeds to show that in all military departments, in its schools, sports, and industries, in its transport activities, and in manufactures of gas and germs, Germany is organizing for war. Much of what he sets down is matter for judgement of the experts. Much also could be paralleled by activities in other countries. That the morality of manufacturers and traders in arms should be such that Armstrong-Vickers can advertise tanks in a German newspaper 'despite the fact that those tanks are forbidden to Germany by the Versailles Treaty and that England signed and guaranteed the Treaty in question,' is serious. The statements about war plans and war preparations are startling. But Dr. Klotz has nothing to say about the futility of the Disarmament Conference which has given Germany excuse for much of her procedure. He suggests that the policy of Hitler is organized hypocrisy, and that the German people will gladly follow him over the precipice of war. He does not ask for preventive measures, but for an intellectual barrage. It would be better if other nations could come to an agreement with reference to what their pledges under the Treaty of Versailles involve, and then make it possible for Germany to return to the League of Nations.

J. C. M.

*The Church Controversy in Germany.* By Anders Nygren.  
(S.C.M. Press. Paper covers. 2s. 6d.)

What is happening to the Church in Germany? This book is an attempt, and a successful one, to set forth clearly and unmistakably just what the controversy is about, how it has arisen, and the situation which has resulted from it. It is based as far as possible on published documents and on authentic information gained by personal interview. It is a book to be warmly recommended. Professor Nygren probes deeply into the controversy. The wave of Nationalism which has swept over Germany and has affected the Churches as well as other institutions; the method of electing Chaplain-General Müller as Reich Bishop which has aroused considerable indignation; the application of the Aryan clause in the Churches which has stimulated strong opposition; the doctrine of the 'Sanctity of the Nationality'; the 'levelling' of Science, Education and the Press together with an attempted 'levelling' of the Church; the acceptance of the 'leader principle' with its implied anti-intellectualism and the urge for 'heroic piety' are all passed in review and their significance suggested. These matters, however, together with the outlook and activities of the German Christians, are but indications of the real trouble. The controversy 'is about Christianity itself, its being or not-being.' Germany is being beset by a new paganism—the deification of their race. The battle within the Church is between this new paganism and the way of Christ. Thus Church government, belief, and the

interpretation of Scripture are all at stake. The battle is more than a fight for liberty. The German Evangelical Church, in opposition to the conceptions and ways of the Reich Bishop and the German Christians, continues to affirm, amidst difficulty and persecution, the truth of the Christian faith. Uniformity of belief in the Church in Germany so long as this new paganism is regarded as a substitute for Christianity, is, by this Evangelical witness, out of the question. The book makes clear the nature of this struggle.

T. W. BEVAN.

*The Way and Its Power.* By Arthur Waley. (Allen & Unwin Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.)

In this excellent book Mr. Arthur Waley has given the general reader an opportunity of reading one of the mystical books of China, and has provided a full introduction with commentaries and careful notes. It is pointed out that while the author has had the general reader in view, the arrangement of the work will allow the specialist to check and challenge the author's conclusions. Few will question the force of his judgement that the general anthropologist has usually given a very cursory study of China in his work. A book of this kind will help materially towards a wiser view, and a great service will have been rendered if many more come to realize with this author that 'it becomes apparent, as Chinese studies progress, that in numerous instances ancient China shows in a complete and intelligible form what in the West is known to us only through examples that are scattered, fragmentary and obscure.' The introduction gives a fascinating sketch of the development of religious ideas in China before the Tao Tê Ching (about 240 B.C.). Many parts of the history have a curiously modern relevance. 'A philosopher from the country of Cheng asked for an audience with the King of Chao. Hoping for entertaining subtleties, the King sent for him. "What are you going to talk to me about?" he asked. The philosopher said he proposed to talk about war. "But I am not at all fond of war," the King protested. The philosopher rubbed his hands, gazed at the ceiling and laughed. "I never supposed you were," he said, "for of all hairy-ape games war is the vilest—but suppose a strong and covetous State had concentrated its armies on your frontiers and were demanding land. Much use would it be to discourse to them upon abstract principles or morality. In a word, so long as your Majesty does not arm, the neighbouring kingdoms can do as they will." The King of Chao said, "Tell me how to arm." ' The translated text of the Tao Tê Ching is given with full discussions concerning date, author and texts. A book of absorbing interest.

R. S.

*The Poetical Works of Kenneth Knight Hallowes.* (Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.)

When a man collects, in his fifty-fifth year, those of his poems most worthy of survival, hoping that the world will not willingly let die

what is of value in his life-work, we turn to this cream of poetry with eagerness. On first reading there was a tinge of disappointment. The form of the poetry is different from major and minor poets who have schooled us; there are irregular lines, some long, some short; the rhyme scheme is irregular in many stanzas, and, absent in some small stanzas; in the same poem are stanzas possessing nine lines, eleven, six, thirteen; and words like 'illume,' 'ebon,' 'Ind,' and 'lour' intrigued us. Yet the author knows full well about 'beauty-of-form,' and 'melodious verse,' having composed many sonnets. Possibly the lyrics shaped themselves thus, and the author, a literary artist, purposed this irregular presentation. Presently the first impression fades out in the sheer delight of the lyrics. The *classified* poems are best understood in the light of his brief life-story. 'Poems of Nature' have wonderful wealth. Having lived and moved in the most beautiful parts of England and India, he has gathered the excellent harvest of the quiet eye. These have the flavour of Wordsworth's poetry. Hallowes thinks himself a modern 'Lake poet' because he has lived awhile and poetized in The Wordsworth Country. 'Poems of Human Nature' simply say he has looked lovingly into the hearts of a few people. 'Poems of Religion' bespeak a worshipful soul. Something of this non-clergyman's piety and devotion hides in all he writes. 'Poems of Science' have a special worth. They strike new ground. Hallowes is a trained scientist with years of experience. Possessing both poetic and scientific temperaments, he blends vision with accuracy. He has given us mostly in sonnet form *The Poetry of Geology*. Colour, loveliness, skill, insight, newness, are found in these uncommon lyrics. Here is a pregnant line from '*Aeon Artificers!*' 'From rock once molten fire blue speedwells bloom.' As a pioneer of this new kind of poetry, having laid the foundation stone, he hopes that other science-poets will build *The Temple of The Poetry of Science*.

J. T. GOODACRE.

*Temperance and the Nation.* By T. Arthur Williams.  
(London: Lincoln Williams. 3s. 6d.)

This work was originally entered in a competition in the Welsh National Eisteddfod and shared with another work a first prize. It deals with temperance from the hygienic, moral and social standpoints, and concludes with a call to youth. Here are facts, informative and compelling; facts which ought to be known and made known by Christian people. With information such as this book provides, no Christian, and particularly no young Christian, need be afraid of meeting the arguments of those who still argue for the need of drink and, consciously or unconsciously, support the activities of the brewers. Information is to be gained here of how drink affects the body and the mind, how it is related to poverty, to life in the slums, to crime, to sport, to the question of revenue and kindred matters, together with some interesting sidelights on the activities of 'The

Trade.' Quotations are plentiful; the facts are undeniable. The book will prove useful not only to preachers, teachers and social workers, it will become invaluable to young people who desire to know the facts. Moreover, once read, it will bring a new interest in the cause of temperance. Our one criticism concerns the set-out of the book. It is too much like a presenting of reports.

T. W. BEVAN.

*Golden Ballast—Twenty-two Science Talks for Children.* By H. Victor Jones, B.Sc., F.Z.S. (The Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

It is years since we resolved not to spend any further money on books of Children's Addresses. That resolution will be broken each time Mr. Jones writes another book on these lines. This is the best book of its kind that has yet come our way. It is literally packed with interesting information, and the 'morals' are not forced. Happy are the children that have the privilege of listening to talks by the author. The 'Ballast' will add to the steadiness of their lives, as the author desires. He says: 'A ship needs ballast to keep her on an even keel, as she sails from port for the open seas. Truth is the ballast that keeps life steady—and truth is golden.' The scientific truth that he provides covers a wide field. It covers the earth, sea and sky. A grain of sand, a drop of oil, a Dragon-fly, bears, a parrot, a gyroscope, circles, razor shells—all are brought into service for these talks. The Rev. George Allen writes a brief Foreword. We imagine that Mr. Jones's Talks will have many echoes if his book has the sale it so richly deserves.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

*New Treasure.* By The Earl of Lytton. (George Allen & Unwin. 5s.)

This book is a kind of aftermath of the ill-fated history of Homer Lane and Little Commonwealth. The author met Lane some twenty years ago and became interested in the unconventional methods he employed and his success in dealing with delinquent children. It will be remembered that Lane's experiments ended disastrously, although many well known people, including the Bishop of Liverpool, believed in him to the end. The Earl of Lytton counts Lane amongst his friends, and regards his principles as a practical application of the Christian gospel. He desires this book to be taken as an acknowledgement of his debt and the vindication of Lane's character. There is little doubt that Homer Lane was a genius, and possessed to the full the contradictions often found in the character of geniuses. The Earl admits that Lane lacked the spiritual force of religion, yet he claims that he understood the mind of Christ better than any man he has met. He tells us Lane was conscious that his Commonwealth was incomplete without a religious basis, and yet he never seemed

able to supply that defect. As regards what the author has to tell us of Christ's love, one may say at once that it is true, and that one is glad to have such a frank acknowledgement of the necessity of Christ's teaching as a basis of education. At the same time the author is scarcely just to credal Christianity, and his contrast between the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, to the great disadvantage of the latter, seems to indicate insufficient appreciation of the purpose of creeds. That creeds have been misused does not alter the fact that some outward statement of belief is as necessary to the Church as the constitution to a State. The book as a whole, however, must be welcomed as an attempt to put into a truer light a somewhat tragic story.

E. S. W.

*Through Space and Time.* By Sir James Jeans. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d.)

If it be true that we are indebted to those who make us feel our daily life is 'girt with wonder,' we owe an incalculable debt to our great leaders of science. *Through Space and Time* embodies the substance of Sir James Jeans's lectures 'adapted to a juvenile auditory' and delivered under the auspices of the Royal Institution during the Christmastide of 1933. At the outset he demonstrates that records of science may be not less thrilling than other branches of literature. He starts his readers on the longest journey in the universe: 'We shall travel so far through space that our earth will look like less than the tiniest motes in a sunbeam, and so far through time that the whole of human history will shrink to a tick of the clock, and a man's whole life to something less than the twinkling of an eye.' He estimates the age of the earth to be round about 2,000 million years, and to enable us to appreciate its significance he suggests the figure of a book of 500 pages, with 330 words on each page, and an average of six letters to a word. The last word in the book would represent the entire history of man, the last letter the whole of the Christian Era, and the history of any single man would be represented by 'less than the final full stop, or the dot on the smallest "i" in the book.' Sir James turns over page after page of the earth's book with its record of millions upon millions of years. We see the earth, 'a globe of hot gas,' gradually cool and settle down, we note its geological activities and how it becomes the abode of life. Long aeons pass and leave records of fossils of 'worms, jelly-fish, and other rudimentary forms of life' not unlike forms existing to-day. Then, after more millions of years, fossils which though they had the appearance of plants were more like our sea-anemones, or even star-fish, for they lived at the bottom of the sea. Still later, after life invaded the land, fossils of grasses and fern-like growths are found. And onward to the arrival of animal life and the emergence of man: 'Somewhere within the last million years ape-like mammals developed—or perhaps suddenly changed—into man,' who acquired

a capacity for speech and, by ability to plan and exchange ideas, gained ascendancy over all other animals. Sir James then leaves the earth and turns our thoughts to the air. Another thrill awaits the reader: 'To visualize the weight of the atmosphere above us, we may think of ourselves as covered up with 144 blankets of lead, each a quarter of an inch in thickness.' He tells us that while we are able to see through our atmosphere to the sky and the stars above, many other planets are enveloped in opaque atmospheres, which prevent our seeing their surfaces at all. He then turns our thoughts to the study of astronomical phenomena—the ceaseless procession of objects moving across the face of the sky: the sun by day, the moon and stars by night. Our sense of wonder deepens with each stage of the journey. The moon, the planets, the sun, the stars, and the nebulae are successively surveyed, and we are not insensitive to the scientist's attitude in contemplating this vast and awe-inspiring universe. Upwards of fifty striking plates illustrate and vivify this fascinating journey. To read *Through Space and Time* is to travel beyond the confines of this world and to visualize the universe before the dawn of human history.

*Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Pierce—Pragmatism and Pragmaticism.* Edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss. (Harvard University Press. 21s.)

Notice has already been given of the previous volumes of Pierce's collected papers of which the fifth is now issued. It is chiefly concerned with Pragmatism. That term was coined by Pierce more than fifty years ago. He intended to denote a technical logical doctrine. The word, however, was adapted by William James, Dewey, Schiller and others and developed so that it came to indicate something widely different from what Pierce intended. He tells us, therefore, how he felt it time to kiss his child good-bye and abandon it to the destiny thus forced on it, and at the same time to announce the adoption of the word pragmatism, 'which is ugly enough to be safe from kidnappers.' The main interest of this fifth volume is that it contains Pierce's original notions of the implications of pragmatism and it is thus of considerable interest to those who are concerned with the later development of that conception.

E. S. W.

*Reason: A Philosophical Essay with Historical Illustrations.*  
By Thomas Whittaker. (Cambridge University Press.  
10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Whittaker contributed the essay on Reason to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1918) and has written studies on *Comte and Mill* (1908), *Schopenhauer* (1909) in the series *Philosophies, Ancient and Modern*. In the pages of *Mind*, he has written on Vico's New Science of Humanity, and Transcendence in Spinoza. He has now

reprinted these works, and students of philosophy will be glad to have access to them in one volume. The general trend of the writer's view may be gathered from his own words: 'If a final philosophy shall come, we may look forward to it as destined to be in the future more unquestionably the queen of the sciences than theology ever succeeded in being in the Middle Ages. This, however, must be entirely by free consent, not by a cunning or violent bending of the will to the purposes either of a select few or of a dominant many.' The value of the book does not lie so much in maintaining any general thesis, but in a close and careful exposition of the philosophic ideas of the various writers named. Students are guided to further study by lists of selected books in English.

*Captain Nicholas.* By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

The sub-title 'A Modern Comedy' is perhaps misleading for the reader may imagine that here will be found humour and good fun. But there is little to smile about in this account of home life. The sudden appearance of a rascal brother, sinister though handsome, in the house of his sister soon leads to the disruption of what was a contented and happy family circle. The Captain laughs at their ideals and scoffs at family ties of love and affection. Waster, thief and thorough scoundrel, he slowly proceeds with his scheme to wreck the lives of everybody concerned, and he very nearly succeeds. Mr. Walpole gives some vivid portraits of how weak human nature can be when put to the test. The sister, Fanny, is a lovable character, a woman who has built up a house of love and companionship, now finding its foundations slipping away until the strength and courage are given to her to deal effectively with the mischief maker, who leaves as quickly as he appeared . . . but behind him there remains the effect of his evil influence upon lives too weak to resist temptation. There is nothing to laugh about here.

*The Long Day Closes.* By Beatrice Tunstall. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

Miss Tunstall's first novel, *The Shiny Night*, proved a best seller on both sides of the Atlantic and her new story is already assured of the same success. The scene is laid in the West Midlands where Dick Turpin makes a dramatic appearance in the Great Hall at Stormont. The most exciting incidents are based on fact, and the Pretender's march through Manchester and on to Derby stands out in vivid colours. The Squire's marriage at Gretna after carrying off his bride on the eve of a loveless wedding, makes an exciting event, but Squire Giles proves unloving and unfaithful and loses his life in disgraceful pursuit of a farmer's daughter. She escapes his snare and his trusty serving-man, Christopher Churche, makes Rose-Mary happy after her long suspense. The story is told with real force and beauty and abounds in striking scenes.

J. T.

## OBITER DICTA

*High Country*, by Alistair MacLean, B.D. (Allenson, 5s. net), bears an individual stamp. It is a volume of Studies of the Inner Life, with Some Interpretive Aids from Modern Literature. The author, who ministers to a gentle folk in a Highland glen, says that whoever would reach the hill-man's thought must be clear in his own and his speech ever heart-speech. He himself has caught the secret. From the heart straight to the heart is the method of his appeal. He has rare insight too. His opening sentences invariably arrest: 'A mystic is simply a man whose spiritual eyesight is better than most. An eagle can look into the burning glory of the sun, a mystic into the heart of God.' His thought leaps instant to the soul, for Mr. MacLean himself is a poet and a mystic. And he holds you to the end of his theme. *High Country* will conduct a ministry far beyond the Highland glen for which these meditations were prepared.

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It will be remembered that Bonamy Dobrée collaborated with Herbert Read in producing *The London Book of English Prose*. In *Modern Prose Style* (Oxford University Press 6s. net.) he concentrates on the prose of recent authors. His book is not intended for writers in general, nor for critics, but for anybody who takes a lay interest in writing. Writers and critics, however, will scarcely withhold their appreciation of a book that so aptly expounds and illustrates the qualities of modern prose. Mr. Dobrée insists that our appreciation of a book depends upon the personality of the author and upon how much of it fashioned the book. He admits there is an impersonal style which anybody might adopt: 'the voice is the voice of a tape-machine.' But the moment a man is 'really interested' you become aware of a personality. He holds there are three distinct types of prose: Descriptive, Explanatory, and Emotive. The first is employed to describe actions, people, and things; the second to explain science, law, philosophy, morals, theology, political science, history and criticism; the third is concerned with rousing the emotions. Each section is admirably illustrated. A fourth section deals with The New Way of Writing and Experiments. *Modern Prose Style* is invaluable to students of literature. It will aid their understanding of the real meaning of style: the sense of one's self, the knowledge of what one wants to say, and the saying of it in the most fitting words.

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Dr. L. Maclean Watt has published a new and revised edition of *The Minister's Manual* (Allenson, 5s. net). In addition to Prayers before Services, Orders of Baptism, Holy Communion, Matrimony, and for the Burial of the Dead, this excellent manual provides a service for the Burial of a Child, an Order of Children's Service, An Hour in School, for teachers, Orders for the Ordination of a Minister,

Elders, Foundation and Dedication of a Church, Services in Holy Week, and for New Year's Eve. The sections for Catechumens, Selected Readings, and Lectionary for One Year: with psalms and paraphrases, complete a comprehensive scheme. This Manual should interest ministers and clergy.

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In *The Spirit of Christmas* (Longmans, 3s. 6d. net), J. Alick Bouquet has produced a seasonable book in which he expounds and illustrates the observance of the Christmas Festival by the Christian Church. Among other interesting items, he tells of the first appearance in print of the famous saying 'Christmas comes but Once a Yeare' and the story of how St. Francis caused the first Christmas Crib to be built on Christmas Eve, 1223. He recalls the saying of Michael Fairless: 'It is at the Crib that everything has its beginning, not at the Cross, and it is only as little children that we can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.' He asks: What is the meaning of all our Christmas preparations and activities? What is it we want to express by our worship, our gifts, our reunions? And he suggests that the real spirit of Christmas is not chiefly in the enjoyment of such good things as appeared before the vision of Scrooge when he beheld the Ghost of Christmas Present, but in a certain attitude towards our fellow men in which sympathy and self-forgetful love find sacrificial expression. The spiritual significance of Christmas must not be overlooked if we are to honour worthily the birthday of the Son of God.

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Canon Hodgson's new book, *The Lord's Prayer* (Longmans, 3s. 6d. net), is a thoughtful and illuminative study. Its timely significance is illustrated in his approach to various pressing questions. He recognizes that while we may be providing for the Unemployed as much as our country can afford at the moment, few who view the matter can feel easy that the provision is so small: 'And what about all the goods that are wasted and destroyed to keep up prices in a world where thousands of people are in destitution?' He sees a grave menace in the private manufacture of armaments: 'Why should we feel that for the manufacture of armaments to be a matter of private profit puts an almost unbearable strain upon the good citizenship of those who are engaged in it? If there were no such thing as avarice, and if it were not a mighty power in the hearts of men, where would the danger be?' This book is of special interest to all concerned with the application of Christian principles to modern social problems.

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Two new books, *Outline of Buddhism*, by C. H. S. Ward, author of *The Ethics of Gotama Buddha*, and *An Outline of Islám*, by C. R. North, M.A., are being added to the list of excellent handbooks on 'Great Religions of the East' (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. net), edited by Dr. Eric S. Waterhouse. Interest steadily increases in a series designedly descriptive rather than critical or apologetic. A brief

glance at the proofs of *Buddhism* and *Islâm* kindles anticipation. Mr. Ward frankly recognizes that the two great Schools of Buddhists cannot be harmonized and must be treated quite independently. This naturally excludes distinctive doctrines of the great *Mahayana* School of Buddhism, very little of whose teaching Buddha would have recognized or acknowledged as his. For the purpose of his study Mr. Ward therefore accepts nothing that is not actually found in the *Pali Pitakas*, or at least clearly deducible from them. This concentration on *Hinayana* Buddhism is a great gain. A careful definition of Islâm introduces Mr. C. R. North's interesting volume. His scheme includes Muhammad, The Man and the Prophet, The Expansion and Present Distribution of Islâm, its Foundations, Faith, Practice, Sects, Mysticism and Islâm To-day. These able and vivid studies will enhance the popularity of the series.

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The Rev. T. H. Wright's new book, *Deadly Sins and Living Virtues* (T. & T. Clark, 3s. 6d. net), deals with the vital significance of the moralities in human thought and action. 'Religion without Ethics, Ethics without Religion, would become wandering spirits, ghosts without a soul,' suggests the author's standpoint in his aim to trace the history of Deadly Sins, and their opposite Virtues. Pythagoras, Democritus, and Heraclitus, who shot out 'arrows of truth,' preceded Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the great leaders whose investigations of moral excellence recorded the four *Cardinal Virtues*: Wisdom, Fortitude, Self-Control, Justice. Ambrose, Augustine, Basil and Thomas Aquinas, the great Christian masters, owe an immense debt to the thinkers of Greece. Dante, who placed the Sins in contrast with living embodiments of Virtue, also made Virtue foremost in the human imagination. A brief outline of Dante's *Divina Commedia* aids the understanding of his contrasted moral virtues with which these studies are largely concerned. Chaucer follows Dante in his list of Sins and places virtues over against the vices. Other English writers are briefly noted down to Meredith who in *The Egoist*, vividly mirrors the pride and selfishness of Sir Willoughby Patterne, who 'regarded all life, and all the world gathered round his rank and possessions, as so much incense to his delicate sensibilities.' We remember Mr. Wright's *Francis Thompson and His Poetry*, which shows a great poet and mystic who in the depths saw and understood the heights—an experience that gave unique tone and quality to everything he wrote. Ministers and teachers will appreciate the masterly treatment of *Deadly Sins and Living Virtues*, problems of paramount importance to the individual and to society.

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Among the Autumn publications two books from the Epworth Press have received significant notices. *The Times Literary Supplement* makes the following reference to *Studies in the Psalter*: 'In 1925 Mr. Snaith gained the Senior Kennicott Hebrew Scholarship at Oxford for a critical essay on Mowinkel's theory; and in the present

volume he has not only published the fruits of his researches, but has also expanded his studies to include the Elohist Psalter and the Sabbath Psalms.' And in regard to the suggestion that the Dragon Myth influenced the writers of the Old and the New Testaments: 'What is new is the emphasis which Mr. Snaith places upon the suggestion, and especially upon the part which it played through its connexion with the Coronation Psalms, in the upbuilding of the faith of the Hebrew people.'

Dr. John S. Simon's—*John Wesley, The Last Phase* is described as a great work, 'the last of a series of five, a volume begun by the author at the age of eighty-four and finished, after Dr. Simon's death by his son-in-law, Mr. A. W. Harrison. The five volumes undoubtedly constitute, from a Methodist point of view, the most important of all biographies of Wesley, ancient or modern. Dr. Simon had been all his life a student of Methodism and a lover of Wesley, and he was minutely acquainted with all the facts of Methodist history. His work on Methodism is comparable to that of Braithwaite on the Quakers . . . . In Methodist libraries Dr. Simon's volumes will be regarded, and properly regarded, as the standard biography of Wesley, superseding the labours of industrious Tyerman.'

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A great teacher's speech is creative and bears the mark of originality. Our age awaits the prophet trained in the school of Jesus, of courageous vision and speech, and with His compelling note of authority and power. An attempt to sketch the portrait of Christ and to divine the secret of His authority inspired *Not As The Scribes* (S.C.M. Press, 3s. 6d. net), by H. G. G. Herklots. Jesus was the man who understood. He translated profoundest thoughts into simplest words and His speech was informed by love. He walked with God and this was the secret of His life and power. It may be with men to-day as it was with Jesus. The life of action is the life of witness: every new sacrifice adds new authority to the words we say. Jesus also illustrated the way of the child: childhood and youth are the greatest seasons of exploration and adventure, of taking risks with life; and Canon Herklots naively suggests that the call of adventure is seldom an invitation to far places or to spectacular pursuits. Jesus steadfastly trod the way of the Cross and in His appeal to others stated the stern facts and called out the best: The Cross of Jesus but leads to another cross, the one we must carry ourselves: 'the timber for the cross is in our very street,' the mission field, our immediate environment. To look into the face of Jesus is to be aware of the Cross: 'the clearest shadow of all is the shadow of the Cross; yet beyond the shadow of the Cross we see the Easter dawn of God.' This book has a pulse of life.

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Prayer is the theme of the Rev. J. Alan Kay's Cambridge Manual (Epworth Press, 6d. net). Here is no mere formal treatise for the author believes that no philosophy of prayer, however complete or

imposing, ever taught a man to pray. Mr. Kay's manner is simple, intimate, direct, and reveals the insight of a true spiritual guide. It is offered to help and to encourage others in the beginning of the way. *The Voice of Prayer* (Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 3s. 6d. net) is a volume of Prayers of the Centuries selected and arranged by the Rev. H. G. Tunnicliff, B.A. Prayers are provided for every day in the year. The classics are well represented, and modern writers include Dr. Orchard, Walter James and Leslie D. Weatherhead. A wide knowledge of devotional literature and a clear spiritual perception have produced a choice volume of quite exceptional merit.

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Dr. W. J. Sparrow Simpson's essay towards a better understanding between Anglican and Methodists is singularly impartial: 'The treatment which Methodism received from the Church was in itself more than enough to alienate effectively and permanently the ardent adherence of the great Evangelical Revival.' Incidentally, Dr. Sparrow Simpson emerges as an authority on Methodist history. He thinks of Methodism as a possible bridge between the Anglican Church and Nonconformity. *John Wesley and the Church of England* (S.P.C.K., 3s. 6d. net), is mainly compiled from Wesley's own data. It illustrates how John, unlike his brother Charles, changed his mind in relation to various important matters. His views of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Christian Ministry are frankly set forth and the difficult problems of Separation and Reunion are not less frankly discussed. He notes, for example, that Wesley held the Presbyterian doctrine of the ministry at the time when he appointed ministers, and he quotes Dr. Newton Flew to illustrate the modern attitude of Methodists: 'The sons of the evangelical tradition do not see what additional certitude could be added to their real spiritual inheritance by the acceptance of the doctrine usually known as the Apostolical Succession. For them the Apostolical Succession of the Church is the Evangelical succession of believers.' It will be inferred that Methodists do not regard their credentials less valid than those of the Church of England and it is to be hoped their ideals are not less lofty and their work not less Christlike. All this, however, but emphasizes the case for Reunion.

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*The Methodist Lesson Notes* for 1935, edited by Ernest H. Hayes, are graded in five volumes: Morning, Beginners (2s. 6d. net each), Primary, Junior, Intermediate (3s. 6d. net each). These excellent notes, based on courses arranged by the British Lessons Council, maintain the standard of previous years. Another volume, *The Christian Apprehension of God*, by Dr. Mackintosh, has been added to 'The Torch Library' (S.C.M. Press, 3s. 6d. net). This clear exposition states a convincing case for Christianity. Other additions to the 'Religion and Life' series of reprints (1s. net) include *Christian Beliefs and Modern Questions*, by Oliver Chase Quick, *Psychology and the Christian Life*, by T. W. Pym, and *The Significance of Jesus*, by W. R. Maltby, D.D. Each volume deals with vital religious problems.

Miss Dora Fowler Martin, well known in Methodist circles, has just published her first novel, *The Unseen Audience* (Hutchinson, 7s. 6d. net). It is the story of a north country family from the early 'nineties almost to the present day. These were years of great happenings and the changes in the lives of the people of England through these momentous years are skilfully depicted. It gives the impression of a faithful picture, with no taint of exaggeration. We feel, too, that the world is chiefly made up not of neurotics, as so many moderns suggest, but of sane people who face their changing fortunes with courage and not a little practical common sense. The idea of an unseen audience in all the affairs of life is salutary and inspiring. This is an altogether enjoyable book.

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*Passing on the Torch* (Fleming H. Revell, 6s. net), is a representative volume by Dr. A. T. Robertson, Professor of New Testament Interpretation of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville. These sermons, interspersed with translations of significant Greek words, are exceedingly practical and doubtless found their mark when delivered. Yet though racy and vivid they are scarcely representative of the American pulpit.

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In a brief biography (*Ronald Ross*, S.C.M. Press, 3s. 6d. net), Mr. J. O. Dobson re-tells the life-story of Sir Ronald Ross, the famous scientist. When Ross began his investigations it was known that malaria was caused by parasites in the blood. It was also presumed that 'the disease passed in some way from man to man through the parasite's nomadic habits.' But how the *Plasmodium* passed from infected to healthy persons and what happened to it in the process was still a mystery. Ross himself declared a man's interest in the phenomena around him to be the measure of his intelligence. His own life is the record of a keen observer impelled by an absorbing purpose to rid humanity of a persistent scourge. To solve the mosquito problem became the master passion of his life. Mr. Dobson relates Ross' discovery of how the mosquito propagates malaria, and how he 'slew the dragon and delivered mankind from immemorial bondage.' Here we may glimpse the scientist steadfastly pursuing his quest, 'patiently and thoroughly dissecting, examining and recording mosquito after mosquito, under a microscope rusted with his own sweat. . . . The humanitarian in Ross said that malaria should, the scientist that it could, be prevented.' It is clear that Ross had the perpetual wonder of a man of genius, and his biographer pays just tribute to an 'originality and uniqueness of achievement, born of heightened, imaginative, creative or inventive power,' and above all to his passion of those 'moral qualities without which native ability seldom fulfils itself in achievement.' *Ronald Ross* is a vivid portrait of one whose work ranks him with Pasteur, Lister, Jenner, Golgi and other benefactors of the race.

EDITOR.

# Periodical Literature

## BRITISH

**Hibbert Journal** (October).—William Adams Brown writes on 'Broader Issues raised at York.' M. Loisy discourses on 'The Problem of Christian Origins.' In a reply to 'M. Loisy on the Birth of Christianity,' Dr. Vincent Taylor says, 'When Christian apologists take the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels as the starting-point for a legitimate development which reaches its culmination in the Nicene Creed and the Catholic Church, they are obviously making considerable demands on the power of faith. But, after all, what are these demands compared with those of Dr. Jacks and M. Loisy? These writers begin with a Jesus who is a deluded prophet, who, in M. Loisy's presentation, has not even the qualities of greatness, and they ascribe to Christian devotion the power to transform the obscure Galilean prophet into the Lord of the Kingdom and finally into the Christ adored by the Catholic Church. What but the faith which removes mountains is capable of such a conception?' Incidentally, Dr. Taylor pays a just tribute to the *Hibbert Journal* as 'the freest forum for intellectual debate in the world.' Of 'M. Bergson as Liberator' Dr. Jacks writes, 'The Bergsonian apocalypse begins quite modestly by initiation into the gnosis of *le mouvant*, and leads on from that to the gnosis of Creative Life—another name, perhaps, for the Living God.' In 'Man, the Machine, and the New Heroism,' Professor Nicholas Berdyaev concludes: 'The way of man's final liberation and final realization of his vocation is the way to the Kingdom of God, which is not only that of Heaven, but also the realm of the transfigured earth, the transfigured cosmos.' F. S. Marvin writes on 'Oxford Groups: Impressions of a Rationalist.' He thinks men are not using their brains too much in the post-war world, and asks, 'Is it not directly, and even supremely, irreligious to adjure our highest faculty and let the reason rust by disuse?' Other articles include 'The Immortal Memory: Charles Lamb: 1775–1834,' by Mary Bradford Whiting.

**Expository Times** (October).—Dr. Garvie in 'Things most surely believed' feels that there is a turning towards religion but it is not always towards Christ. 'There are rival claimants, naturalism and humanism, and even a Christian theism; and it is necessary to show that Christ alone has the words of eternal life, and that the world will err if it depart to any other Master.' He lays stress on the evidence of personal experience, individual and corporate, and the sufficiency of divine grace as the remedy for human ills. The Cross stands unmoved as the focus of his own thought and life, but with an ever-widening circumference. Prof. Vincent Taylor writes an Introduction to a forthcoming series on 'Some Outstanding New Testament

**Problems.**' (November).—Professor G. D. Henderson holds that Nestorianism was much more than a heresy. It survives as an element in our own thought and a mark of the difficulty of maintaining fully the real manhood of Jesus and still safeguarding the doctrine of the Incarnation. Dr. Vincent Taylor, in 'The Elusive Q,' inclines to Shelton's solution which is simpler than Bussmann's, and is supported by what we can infer as to Matthew's literary methods as a Conflator of Sources.

**The Journal of Theological Studies** (October).—Jean Przyluski writes on 'Origin and Development of Buddhism.' 'Just as Christianity helps to maintain a certain moral unity in Europe and in America, religious sentiment under the ensigns of Buddha and of Mahomet is to-day almost the only link uniting the people of Asia. Elevated above economic rivalries, civil wars, and race antagonism, Buddhism remains a principle of peace and a symbol of union.' Dr. F. C. Burkitt concludes his article on 'Polotsky's Manichaean Homilies' with an expression of 'the admiration of all students of ancient religious thought and opinion to Dr. Polotsky and Dr. Ibscher for their learning and skill, and to Sir Herbert Thompson for making this relic of a forgotten faith available to scholars.' Notes and Studies also include 'Julius Africanus and the Western Text' by Dr. F. Granger and 'Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Testament, VII.' by G. R. Driver. There are also excellent reviews of important books.

**The Baptist Quarterly** (October).—'The Baptist World Congress at Berlin' was a bold venture, but the 300 members who left Liverpool Street on August 3 had a delightful journey. They were entranced by Berlin, a city of trees. The only European country not represented at the Congress was Russia. A courteous address was sent to Hitler and the Spurgeon Memorial Service was the largest meeting of the week. Miss Brown, who writes the article, was struck by the fact that no one in Berlin seemed to have time to smile. It was a city of uniforms. There is a full account of William Carey, and 'From an Old Boy' come some Stepney College papers of a century ago.

**Church Quarterly Review** (October).—Dr. Oesterley in 'Messianic Prophecy and Extra-Israelite Beliefs' suggests that the Egyptian and Babylonian conception of a divine King may be a foreshadowing of the King-Messiah, a man, yet truly divine. Men may thus have been granted some conception of a truth which could only be fathomed by the Incarnation. Dr. Sparrow Simpson lays stress on 'Our Lord's command to perpetuate the Eucharist.' 'Lollardy,' 'Church and State in Jochulleian,' 'The Spirit in the Pauline Epistles' and other articles are of much interest and value.

**Congregational Quarterly** (October).—This number, enlarged by thirty-two pages, contains a detailed report of the Oxford Theological Conference of Congregationalists. The eighth Conference was unlike the earlier ones because Dr. Horton was not in the chair. 'It was

largely his child, and he guided it through the years in a way in which, it is safe to say, no other Congregationalist could have done.' The Rev. John Bevan presided. The papers were devoted to the Holy Spirit and His Work. Dean Inge, Canon Major, and Prof. Jeffery read papers and there were gratifying contributions by laymen. Mr. Goodall makes helpful suggestions in his 'Summing-Up.' In his notes Dr. Peel says he has felt at times that Free Churches were inclined to concede too easily the claim that Episcopacy is of the *bene esse* of the Church. The short accounts of Bernard Snell and Gerard N. Ford by F. Y. Leggatt, and J. D. Jones are of special interest. In *Ad Clerum* two laymen give their view of the minister's task and the Sermon in Public Worship. Dr. Peel's 'Ideal Lakeland Holiday' is pleasant reading.

**International Review of Missions** (October).—F. W. D. Jones in 'The Ministerial Missionary in China' makes it clear that there is work for fully trained theologians in China which no one else can do. The worker ought to have a special title and appear among local church officials not as a guest but as an official of the district court. Two articles on 'Missionary Corporate Living' are suggestive, and Dr. Witte writes on 'The German Faith Movement' which has 'nothing solid to contribute to the great problems of life—sin and guilt, suffering and death.' Dr. Richard Roberts in 'Opening up new ground in Japan' deals with the difficulty of evangelizing rural Japan where the Gospel has not been openly proclaimed in more than 1,200 of the 12,000 villages.

**Religion in Education** (October).—This is the fourth number. The editor, Dr. Basil Yeaxlee, is encouraged by growing support. The Archbishop of York writes on 'The Place of Religion in Education'; Dr. Yeaxlee on 'How Teachers may Equip themselves'; the Rev. Stephen Neill on 'Christian Leadership.' All the articles will be very helpful to religious workers, especially among the young.

**Cornhill Magazine** (October).—E. V. Lucas gives extracts from the diary of 'George Du Maurier at thirty-three' which begin on March 6, 1867, and close on March 24, 1868. Mr. Lucas adds illuminating notes. Du Maurier's account of Millais' picture of Jephtha's daughter takes one by storm as it took Du Maurier and his party. He visited Burne-Jones, 'undoubtedly a very great man, and a very charming fellow into the bargain.' 'A Library of To-day,' by James Milne, describes 'Boots' and Mr. Richardson its chief Librarian. 'The Eighth Plague' is another vivid 'Desert Idyll,' by Major Jarvis.

#### AMERICAN

**Harvard Theological Review**.—To the July number Dr. Andrew Banning contributes a criticism of *Professor Brightman's Theory of a Limited God*. In attempting to restate and modify the problem of evil and its effects on our conception of God he is held 'to have yielded

to the dualism which he had hoped to escape.' The well-reasoned argument deserves the attention of metaphysicians. Professor Montgomery publishes *in memoriam* of the late Dr. J. H. Ropes—'a noble gentleman and scholar'—the results of his critical study of *The Ethiopic Text of the Acts of the Apostles*. The British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of the Ethiopic New Testament, edited by Thomas Pell Platt, 'possesses a critical value in giving a possible control of mutilated readings in earlier texts. It belongs to that major class of revised translations of the Ethiopic Bible which was subjected to revision from the Arabic vulgate translation.' A detailed comparison of its readings with the Paris MS. (P), and with the London Polyglot (L) leads to the conclusion that we possess 'in P a mutilated form of primitive text; in L one that is still free from Arabism, but which has been revised at a late date from the Latin; and in B an Arabising text, belonging to the category of most Ethiopic Biblical MSS.'

**Homiletic Review** (September).—Dr. McConnell holds that 'The Larger Parish' is the hope of ruraldom. 'Co-operate or perish' is his conclusion. A. S. Phelps, in 'Moody of Northfield,' tells how he settled the question 'How shall we reach the masses' in three words: 'Go for 'em.' It is a racy paper with many illustrations of apt repartee and instances of his wholesale sanity. (October).—'What shall the Sunday Schools do to be saved?' is treated by four experts in a suggestive way. A great work is being done and these notes show how it may be made more effective. 'The Larger Parish' and the estimate of Dean Inge should not be overlooked.

**Journal of Religion** (October).—Dr. Wieman regards 'A Philosophy of Religion' as indispensable in order to bring to birth and maturity a religion adequate to our times. Other articles deal with 'Scientific Naturalism: a Platform for the Church Historian'; 'Equivocation on Religious Issues'; 'Salvation must be Plural' and 'The Rôle of Theology in Contemporary Culture,' by Dr. Subsey, who feels that the development of the modern world demands a message which can save our culture from collapse. The twelve 'Critical Reviews' are important.

#### FOREIGN

**The Moslem World** (October).—Dr. Zwemer gives a facsimile of the large poster, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' issued by a China Inland Missionary for use among Chinese Moslems. 'Muhammad and Previous Messengers' describes some of the prophets mentioned in the Qur'an. Jesus calls upon the Children of Israel to serve Allah; Moses and Aaron are more fully represented and Abraham appears in three different capacities. The article will be very helpful to workers among Mohammedans. Professor Bugge's lecture on 'The History of the Nestorian Church in China' describes the eastward spread of Christianity in a way that makes us understand how it was carried to China by ordinary Christians along the old trade-routes.

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